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Pro-Slavery.

From the Lutheran Observer.

We invite the attention of our readers to an interesting letter from the Rev. Dr. Breckenridge, President of Jefferson College, to the Rev. Mr. Payne and others, in reference to the presentation to him of a gold snuff-box, by the free people of color, of the State of Maryland. Dr. B. has been both misapprehended and misrepresented in regard to the colored race, and we are glad that so appropriate an occasion has been furnished to him to define his position. He gives expression to some important views, and though on a few minor points we may not entirely accord with him, in the main he is right, and we would be glad to hear of the universal prevalence of some of his leading positions, as well among our colored brethren, as in the community at large. We bespeak an attentive perusal of this document:

ANSWER OF A LETTER

By the Rev. Dr. R. J. Breckenridge in reference to the presentation to him of a gold snuff-box, by the free colored people of Maryland, in consideration of his services in their behalf. To the Rev. Messrs. Payne, Peck, Fortie, and others, a Committee of the free colored people of the city of Baltimore—

MY FRIENDS:—Although it is some time since I learned, through the public newspapers, that the free colored people of Baltimore had, in a public manner, and with every demonstration of respect and kindness, presented to my excellent friend, the Rev. Mr. Dunlap, for me, a gold snuff-box, as a mark of their gratitude for my past efforts to serve them; it is only very lately that I have received the gift itself, and the detailed statement of the public proceedings on the occasion of its presentation.

As it regards those proceedings, both you and I have reason to be gratified that the great excellence and distinguished station of the gentlemen, my friends and others, who participated in them, and rose to the occasion and to your and their emphatic honest misconstruction in relation to the matter. And for the act itself—I assure you few events connected with my life or labors, have more deeply affected me, or given me more sincere pleasure.

I accept, therefore, with deep sensibility, this "Gift of Gratitude," as you are pleased to call it: this humble—it may be—but earnest testimony, that, in your judgment, I have some claims to the character of a "Christian philanthropist;" a character to me the most admirable that can adorn humanity—and only the more to be valued when the poor and the helpless lift up their weak and despised voices, to confer it. It is many a day since I cared for mere earthly honors; and the few it was ever my chance to win—it is alike to me—whether my children hear of them or not. But I covet earnestly an immortal crown. And it is some token to me that I am in the right way to obtain it, when such testimonies as this you have borne seem to show, that I have tried, in feeble imitation of my divine Master, to go about doing good, and that his blessing has not always been denied to my poor efforts. For it is not easy to imagine how a common sentiment should so strongly pervade fifteen or twenty thousand humble persons, as to make itself heard by a common utterance, if they did not think they had adequate cause both to feel and to speak.

For twelve years and more of my life—the prime years of my manhood—my best and happiest years—it is true that I did all I could do to promote the welfare and happiness, both temporal and spiritual, of the free colored people of Baltimore. That I did so little, those less generous than yourselves will perhaps excuse me, when they consider how far beyond my strength I was always occupied with other cares and duties more immediately binding upon me. That I was able to do anything at all, I may venture in all humility, and yet in all faithfulness to say, alike in grateful recognition of God's good hand over us, and for the encouragement of such as would do likewise, that nothing is beyond the power of a fixed and resolute purpose, upheld by a meek and pious spirit, and guided by the wisdom which cometh down from above. It is no longer in my power to serve you by personal labors. You will, therefore, the more readily excuse a word of friendly admonition—the last, it may be, I shall ever address to you, and the best proof I can give of my continued interest in your affairs.

The dealings of God with your race, as far back as human knowledge reaches, have been very wonderful. They are so still. And the most wonderful part of all is, that your race never did, nor does it yet, comprehend its destiny. We must all accomplish our destiny: it is the invincible decree of God, and there is no escape from it. The first symptom that a people will work out aright their grand and ultimate vocation, is that they apprehend, even if it be but dimly, what that vocation is. The great problem which human advancement requires to be solved, is the formation of a civilized state within the Tropics. Until this is accomplished, it seems to me to be utterly absurd to talk as we do about the progress of mankind, and the civilization of the human race. Such a state can never be established except by means of the black race: and therefore, and in that sense, except by means of it, the earth itself can never reach that point of advancement which God has put so palpably within its reach. Two solemn lessons arise out of these facts. The one should teach our race how absurd it is to contemn and despise yours: the other should teach your race how fatal it is to resist and obstruct those beneficent designs by which alone their ultimate freedom and nationality can be accomplished. I do not advise any man in particular to emigrate—each one must decide for himself. Still less do I recommend a general emigration, or approve one accomplished by violence. But, even at the risk of forfeiting your confidence, I have always testified, and do still, against that general and concerted hostility to African colonization, which, in various parts of the country, whether amongst yourselves or amongst us, has had no better effect, than to delude and embitter the minds of the free blacks, and exasperate those of the whites, and embarrass the noblest and most fruitful movement of the present century.

For a long course of years, I have not ceased to cherish the deepest interest in all questions affecting the condition and prospects of the black race on this continent; and I have enjoyed such opportunities of making up my opinions, as a very large experience and observation could afford. The result of the whole, is a deliberate belief, that the condition of the free blacks, is generally better in the slave States, than in the free. Whatever may be said of laws, the actual condition of mankind is far more certainly determined by what society really does, than by what it declares in the statute-book; it designs to do: and this great truth was never more clearly exhibited, than in the general condition of the free black race, on the opposite sides of the slave line. And I reiterate my firm conviction, that, in general, the condition of respectable free persons of color, is decidedly better in the slave States of this Union, than in the free. Nor should we forget, that almost the entire free black race in America, owe such liberty as they enjoy, either immediately, or remotely, to the mere benevolence of those who once owned them, or their ancestors; and that the absolute and entire hope of freedom for all the blacks now in Slavery in this country, reposes simply on the same foundation. Great lessons lie involved in these truths. Amongst the chief, are these; that the free black race are bound by every sentiment of gratitude, and every dictate of prudence and wisdom, to be quiet, loyal, peaceable, and docile, as regards the laws, the institutions, and the public sentiment of the slaveholding States; and that, in the long run, their own best hopes are connected with the prosperity of those States. Indeed, it is a question, the furthest possible from being clear, whether a more certain mode of ruining the existing race of free blacks, could be devised, than to expel those who reside in the slave States; unless, indeed, their destruction might be more thoroughly accomplished by the universal liberation of the slaves, if such a thing was, in the nature of the case, possible at all.

I have seen much of society in many foreign lands; and have studied its condition in ages and countries which I never saw: and in both cases I have looked narrowly into the condition of the poorer and lower classes. As the result of all, I give it as my fixed belief, that there is nothing in the condition of American society, anywhere, that prevents free persons of color from living as safely and as comfortably, as the lower and laboring classes of society ever could, or now can live, in any other country. Political privileges are denied to you; but in what country are they not withheld from the great mass of men? Many civil rights are curtailed as to you: but how few enjoy them, in their fulness, anywhere? Various personal restrictions are laid upon you; but they are fewer and less oppressive than the white poor of all other countries endure. Your persons are under the protection of the laws; labor is everywhere free to you: the acquisition of property is open before you by innumerable channels; and whatever you possess is as much your own and as sacredly respected, as the estates of the most eminent of our citizens. The ancient people of God endured for fifteen centuries, in all lands, what every American heart would revolt from inflicting on you for a single hour. Your condition, therefore, is one not only perfectly supportable, and entirely consistent with the practice of all the domestic and most of the social virtues; but is really far better than the condition of the great mass of mankind ever was, or now is, or is soon likely to be in any other country.

That you have never suffered wrong; that you are not liable to great dangers; that an uncertain, and in some respects dark futurity does not impend over you; that your condition cannot be greatly ameliorated; and that it ought not to be examined with more care, and treated with more wisdom and humanity by the public authorities of the country: all these are matters which I do by no means, either assert or believe. Often, and for many years, it has been my lot to assert and to maintain the contrary, and that, not unfrequently, under circumstances of great and dangerous responsibility. But what I do believe and assert is, that considering your condition, such as it is, and that of the human race at large, such as it has always been; you have more reasons for gratitude to God, and fewer for repining at his allotments, than the mass of human kind, in the [illegible] in such directions, as to make it your highest wisdom to endure with patience and tranquillity your present lot, and to seek for its improvement only by such methods as are consistent with the great truths I have above suggested to you.

Many years ago I took the responsibility of publicly maintaining, contrary to the belief then, and perhaps still common in this country, and contrary to my own first impressions hastily taken up, that the free black race in America are eminently a docile and religious people. All subsequent investigations has confirmed me in this belief; and I reiterate the conviction with a profound sense of its truth. Whatever may be the weaknesses, follies, and offences justly chargeable upon that race as characteristic of it, or as resulting from its moral and physical condition; the records of the country will everywhere attest, that the higher species of crime are comparatively rare amongst them; and the statistics of religion will prove, that a larger proportion of them than of the whites, profess to be the followers of the Lord Jesus. When it is considered that in both these particulars, their advantages are out of all comparison, inferior; the proof seems to me to be characteristic and decisive.

I thank the Lord that he has used me in any degree to do you good; and above all things else, to stir you up to greater diligence in his service, and lead you to a more perfect trust in him, and a more absolute submission to his righteous allotments. May his Spirit be ever with you, his good hand ever upon you, and his grace always sufficient for you. I thank you also for your gratitude and affection, and for the simple and touching manner in which you have expressed them. There may be those who would shrink from the acknowledgment that they valued your confidence, and show the responsibility—perhaps the odium—involved in your manifestation of it. Such emotions were always foreign to my nature. Even when visions of glory had great charms for me, and proud and enduring monuments were precious to my thoughts, the grateful tears and the blessings of the humble and the poor seemed to me to be elements of an imperishable renown. Such changes as the stern lessons of life and its sad discipline, and more than both, I trust God's grace, have wrought upon me, have settled the conviction only more thoroughly in my soul, that he who is seeking an inheritance beyond the grave, need desire to leave behind him no memorial more precious than the record in true and grateful hearts, that he was neither afraid nor ashamed to be the friend of the forsaken and oppressed.

In the bonds of Christ's Gospel,
Your servant and friend,
R. J. BRECKINRIDGE.

JEFFERSON COLLEGE, (Pa.) March 2, 1846.

From the Express.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA AND MASSACHUSETTS CONTROVERSY.

The Joint Committee on the Georgia Resolutions in the Massachusetts Legislature, have pretty much determined to give their disputes with some of the Southern States the go by, and let them drop. There is some scolding on the part of some people there, with stronger abolition propensities than Whig principles,—but that it is wise to drop these quarrels, and try to live together as brethren in unity and harmony, few can doubt. The effort to keep up an eternal wrangle between the Eastern and Southern States is not only impolitic and unwise, but wrong in principle, and seriously detrimental to the Union.

The East and the North are no more responsible for the Slavery of the South, than for the Slavery existing in Asia or Africa. As long as it exists, then, in the South, it is a despotism that will be enforced by police and other strict regulations, and the attempt to break in upon them is set down as an attempt to break down the whole state of society, and all the laws that support it. Such attempts, as in the case of Massachusetts, will of course be resisted, and to the death, if necessary. When Massachusetts makes up her mind that civil war is wiser than submission to them, a further prosecution of this war will be comprehensible, but until then, no result but discord can come from it. The joint committee, therefore, we set down as composed of wise, practical, sound, well-judging, patriotic men, that love peace and concord more than a wrangle sure to end in nothing. The Abolitionists, of course, would like to see the old Commonwealth and South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana, in full and fair fight—for then they might accomplish what they have so deeply at heart, the dissolution of the Union.

The "NEW ORLEANS BEE" and "MOBILE ADVERTISER" will receive our acknowledgments for their notices of the course of this journal in regarding the welfare of "the Union and the whole Union," more than merely sectional prejudices. We have long been convinced that the public journalists of America (and those of the Whig party, in particular) should never permit their "powers" to be contracted by any "pent up Utica," so long as there is such a "boundless continent" to be influenced by their course. There never was a juster sentiment than that which proposed "a union of the Whigs for the sake of the Union."—*Ibid.*

"The Peculiar Institution."

From the Signal of Liberty.

ESCAPE FROM SLAVERY.

AMHERSTBURG, March 13, 1846.

A public meeting of the citizens of Amherstburg, Canada West, met in Union Chapel, to hear an address from Lewis Richardson, a fugitive from Henry Clay, of Ashland, Kentucky. At half-past 7 o'clock, A. M. the house was called to order by Mr. L. Foster, who acted as chairman of the meeting, and J. Binga, Secretary. After the object of the meeting was explained by H. Bibb, of Detroit, Mr. Richardson proceeded as follows:

"Dear brethren, I am truly happy to meet with you on British soil, (cheers,) where I am not known by the color of my skin, but where the Government knows me as a man. But am I free from American Slavery, after wearing the galling chains on my limbs fifty-three years; nine of which it has been my unhappy lot to be the slave of Henry Clay? It has been said by some that Clay's slaves had rather live with him than be free, but I had rather this day, have a millstone tied to my neck, and be sunk to the bottom of Detroit river, than to go back to Ashland, and be his slave for life. As late as December, 1845, H. Clay had me stripped and tied up, and one hundred and fifty lashes given me on my naked back: the crime for which I was so abused, was, I failed to return home on a visit to see my wife, on Monday morning, before 5 o'clock. My wife was living on another place three miles off from Ashland. During the nine years living with Mr. Clay, he has not given me a hat nor cap to wear, nor a stitch of bed clothes, except one small coarse blanket. Yet he has said publicly, his slaves were "fat and sleek!" But I say if they are, it is not because they are so well used by him. They have nothing but coarse bread and meat to eat, and not enough of that. They are allowanced every week. For each field hand is allowed one peck of coarse corn-meal, and meat in proportion, and no vegetables of any kind. Such is the treatment that Henry Clay's slaves receive from him. I can truly say that I have only one thing to lament over, and that is my bereft wife, who is yet in bondage. If I only had her with me, I should be happy. Yet think not that I am unhappy. Think not that I regret the choice that I have made. I counted the cost before I started. Before I took leave of my wife, she wept over me, and dressed the wounds on my back caused by the lash. I then gave her the parting hand, and started for Canada. I expected to be pursued as a felon, as I had been before, and to be hunted as a fox from mountain to cave. I well knew if I continued much longer with Clay, that I should be killed by such floggings and abuse by his cruel overseer in my old age. I wanted to be free before I died—and if I should be caught on the way to Canada and taken back, it could be but death, and I might as well die with the colic as the fever. With these considerations I started for Canada, the American eagle, and take shelter under the British crown. (Cheers.) Thanks be unto Heaven that I have got here at last: on yonder side of Detroit river, I was recognized as property; but on this side, I am on free soil. Hail Britannia! Shame, America! (Cheers.) A Republican despotism, holding three millions of our fellow-men in slavery. Oh what a contrast between Slavery and Liberty! Here I stand erect, without a chain upon my limbs. (Cheers.) Redeemed, emancipated, by the generosity of Great Britain. (Cheers.) I now feel as independent as even Henry Clay felt when he was running for the White House. In fact I feel better. He has been defeated four or five times, and I but once. But he was running for Slavery and I for Liberty. I think I have beat him out of sight. Thanks be to God that I am elected to Canada, and if I don't live but one night, I am determined to die on free soil. Let my days be few or many, let me die sooner or later, my grave shall be made in free soil."

A song by H. Bibb—"The Fugitive's Triumph."

A reply by H. Bibb: Dear friend, in behalf of the citizens of Canada, we hail you with joy—we hail you as a brother—we bid you welcome to all the privileges and immunities of a citizen of Canada, among which are life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness. You are no longer a slave—no longer three-fifths of a man—the very moment that you set your foot on British soil, the fetters fell from your limbs. You are now in a new country, among strangers, and far from your friends, and we can sympathize with you. We know how you love what man holds most dear—his parents, relations, wife, and children—and heart-rending as it is, we must give them up, but we will ever pray. And now, in conclusion, my advice is, go to work for yourself—the land is rich and fertile, and let us prove to Henry Clay, and to the world, that we can take care of ourselves, and let honesty and integrity be our motto now and forever.

Moved by M. Needham, that the proceedings of the meeting be published in the Signal of Liberty, and all other papers friendly to the oppressed. Adopted. J. BINGA, Secretary.

Selections.

From the Christian Reflector.

KARENS' FEAR THAT THE MISSIONARIES WILL ENSLAVE THEM.

The following letter from a beloved missionary in Mergui, presents the subject of Slavery in an aspect somewhat new. It develops an impediment to missionary labor, which many have not considered as it deserves. It furnishes another motive for effort to overthrow a system, the influence of which follows the servant of God across the ocean, and thousands of miles from its own locality presents a powerful barrier to the spread of the Gospel.

Painful is the reflection, that American missionaries are hindered in the great work of converting souls to God, by American influences. One portion of our countrymen send them out to labor, another portion throw obstacles in their path. A *free* nation, terrifying the heathen from embracing Christianity, lest by so doing they should become *slaves*. We submit the question of our brother for the consideration of all, but especially commend it to the serious attention of the churches at the South.

MERGUI, October 27th, 1845.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—Will you, or some of your valuable correspondents, tell me how to meet the following objection, which I have to meet wherever I go among the wild Karens? "If we become disciples, when you get a large number of us, you intend to entice us away and make slaves of us in your own country." This objection is often urged with as much seriousness and confidence as though they were actually acquainted with the system of American Slavery. Did these ignorant, but *slave-hating* heathen, but know the slaveholding character of the American churches—would they not say to our faces, "*Go back*, thou hypocrite—*Go back*, and teach the heathen of your own country, and give *them* the Bible, before you come here to impose upon us." I am fully persuaded, that did they know it, this would in substance be the language of many a wild Karen.

Will *not* the Karens become acquainted with the history of American Slavery? I see not how it can possibly be avoided.

Some of their young men are learning our language; becoming acquainted with our books, papers, &c. And when they once begin to get the idea, they will not cease their importunities until they know its history. And when it is once known, it will spread like wild-fire among the people. Sometime since, I noticed in a public paper the following remark, as coming from Brother Kincaid: "If the heathen were aware of the slaveholding character of our churches, by whom the missionaries are sent out, the usefulness of the missionaries would be at an end." Now I should not be willing to go quite so far as this, and say that their usefulness would be at an end. But I most sincerely believe, that the strength of the missionary's arm would be *sadly paralyzed*.

I thought I felt interested for the slave before I left my native land; but during the eight years since I left and came to this heathen country, I have been witnessing the amount of men and money employed in behalf of the heathen of these provinces, and how small their number compared to the slaves of the United States of *free and independent* America. According to the census of Government in 1840, the whole population of these provinces, including Malays—Chinese—Siamese, and Toungthoos, (who never have any missionary,) was one hundred and fifteen thousand, not *one twentieth* the number of oppressed heathen in that land of boasted freedom and Christianity. And what is the amount of means used in behalf of this population? There are on the ground at present thirteen missionaries and their wives, and one single female. According to what statistics I have before me, the whole expense cannot be *less* than twenty thousand dollars a year, and I believe it must be considerably *more* than that. Don't understand me to convey the idea that we have a superabundance of labor and money. *No! indeed.* Almost every department of labor among us is suffering for want of reinforcement. In many instances we cannot employ assistants, and have schools for the want of money. Had we twice the amount of men and money, there would be an abundance of work to be done. But when I think of it, in connection with American Slavery, and think of the slaveholder holding the Bible from his own people, and yet apparently anxious to give the same to the heathen, my heart sickens, while it seems as though I had been dreaming over the subject of American Slavery. Would that we might all awake, and wash our hands from this *awful pollution!*

D. L. BRAYTON.

From the New-York Tribune.

MASS MEETING FOR THE INDIANS.

A large Convention for the citizens of Genesee county assembled at the Court House in Batavia, on the 21st day of March, 1846, at 11 o'clock, a. m. to take into consideration the situation of the Tonawanda Indians, residing in said county.

Mr. Samuel Richmond called the Convention to order, and read the recommendation of the Grand Jury of said county and other citizens for such Convention.

On motion of Mr. Richmond, SAMUEL WILLETT, Esq. was chosen President of the Convention, and ISAAC T. GIFFORD, JAMES R. JACKSON, and TRUMBULL CARY, were chosen Vice Presidents.

On motion of M. Taggart, Esq. BENAJAH BENEDICT, and, on subsequent motion, SAMUEL J. TODD, were chosen Secretaries of the Convention.

The Convention being thus organized, Frederick Follett, Esq. moved the appointment of a committee of five to prepare and report to the Convention, resolutions for their adoption. The motion was carried, and the President appointed as such Committee, Frederick Follett, Isaac A. Verplanck, Samuel Richmond, Leverett Seward, and Seth Wakeman.

[illegible] to the Convention, a memorial for their consideration. The motion was carried, and the President appointed as such Committee, John H. Martindale, Daniel H. Chandler, and Levi E. Rugg.

And thereupon the Convention adjourned to meet again at 1 o'clock, p. m.

At 1 o'clock, the Convention assembled pursuant to adjournment, and having been called to order, Mr. Martindale, from the Committee to prepare a memorial, made a report, which we shall endeavor to find room for.

The memorial having been read, Mr. Follett, from the Committee on resolutions, reported the following:

Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with the remnant of the once powerful tribes of Indians who now inhabit the western part of our State; and that we have witnessed with feelings of mortified pride, the attempts that have been made, and are now making, to deprive them of their scanty possessions; that we feel ourselves called upon by every principle of justice, and by all the dictates of philanthropy, to do all we can to arrest the great wrong that is about to be committed upon them.

Resolved, That while we cheerfully bear our united testimony to the morality, good order, industry, and agricultural progress of our neighbors at Tonawanda, we deeply sympathize with them in the difficulties into which they have been brought by the arts of the Ogden Company. We know they have never consented to sell a foot of land, or have been a party to any treaty for that purpose. We can never approbate the oppressive treaties by which, if not annulled, they are to be forced from the land of their birth. We believe they are unjust. We believe, with them, that they should be abrogated, and we will aid them in their call for justice.

Resolved, That as the people of New-York have never demanded the removal of these Indians, and would not, if called upon to express their opinion, wish their removal against their free consent; we would regard it as much more worthy the dignity and enlightened justice of our State, to elevate and educate the remnant of our Indians, than to suffer them to be uprooted as a nation, and be made the victims of a mere private speculation.

Resolved, That we view the Government of this country as standing in the light of guardians to the Indians within its territory—and that as the treaty of 1838, and the so-called compromise of 1842, was never asked for, or demanded by the Indians, but was brought about by the unwearied efforts and at the solicitation of the Ogden Land Company, we are therefore led to question its justice, and to doubt its binding force upon those who have all the time protested against its consummation.

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States, if the same shall be deemed practicable, be requested to arrest the final consummation of this treaty, that time may be afforded for a full, fair, and unprejudiced examination of the means and appliances used to bring about the same; and that the Senate be requested to review the treaties, and the means by which they were consummated; and that if it shall be satisfied that fraud and corruption were the basis upon which they were reared, that it then be called upon, as the guardians of the Indians, to abrogate and annul the same.

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions, signed by the President, Vice Presidents, and Secretaries, be sent to the President and Senate of the United States, and to the Chiefs upon the Tonawanda, Buffalo, Alleghany, and Cattaraugus Reservations; be published in the Western New-York papers, and also that they be published in the Washington Union, and the New-York Tribune.

The memorial and resolutions were then, on motion of M. Wells Hewett, Esq. received for the consideration of the Convention.

They were then discussed at length, by Messrs. L. H. Morgan, Samuel Richmond, M. Wells Hewett, Leverett Seward, Isaac A. Verplanck, D. H. Chandler, J. H. Martindale, and Harry Wilber.

Explanations relative to the treaty of 1842 were made by Mr. Aldrich, and another member of the Society of Friends, who were in attendance.

Jemmy Johnson, Head Chief of the Six Nations then addressed the Convention through an interpreter.

The discussion of the memorial and resolutions, exhibited in full the circumstances under which the treaties of 1838 and 1842 had been effected, and the difficulties in the way of relieving the Indians from their operation. And although some of the speakers stated their fears of the impracticability of restoring the title to the Tonawanda Reservation to its present occupants, all concurred in expressing their warm sympathies for the heavy misfortunes of the Indians.

The memorial and resolutions were then adopted, and by acclamation.

L. H. Morgan was then appointed a special messenger to bear the proceedings of the Convention to the Senate at Washington.

And thereupon the Convention adjourned.

SAMUEL WILLETT, President.
ISAAC T. GIFFORD, JAMES R. JACKSON, TRUMBULL CARY, } Vice Presidents.
BENJAMIN BENEDICT, S. J. TODD, } Secretaries.

SPEECH OF Mr. GIDDINGS, OF OHIO,

On the proposition to amend the Bill making appropriations for the benefit of the Indian tribes, so that no moneys should be paid for fugitive slaves, or as a compensation for fugitive slaves, under the treaty of January, 1845, between the United States and the Creek and Seminole Indians, in Committee of the Whole House, February 18, 1846.

(*Concluded.*)

Before I proceed farther on this point, I desire to say, that every attempt of this Government, to sustain the Slavery of the South, either by the recapture of fugitive slaves, or otherwise, is a direct violation, of our Constitution, an encroachment upon the rights of the free States, an offence against the laws of God, and an outrage upon humanity. I have no time now to go into an extended examination of the subject. An eminent statesman of our own times, [Henry Clay,] has declared, that "*the existence, the maintenance, and continuance of domestic slavery, depends exclusively upon the power and authority of the States in which it exists.*" This, Sir, is the doctrine of the Constitution. It is Whig doctrine, and the only true Whig doctrine. Agreeably to it, I say, "the *existence* of Slavery (in Georgia) depended entirely upon the power and authority of that State." If her people could not support it, let it cease. They had no right to call on the people of the free States, or upon Congress, to aid them in sustaining it; for, as Mr. Clay most distinctly, and emphatically declares, "CONGRESS HAS NO POWER OR AUTHORITY OVER THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY." To appropriate the moneys proposed in this bill, to pay for these slaves, will be as clearly a violation of our Federal compact, as it would be for us to abolish Slavery in Georgia, or establish it in Massachusetts. If this Government possesses the power to deal in slaves, we may establish a slave market in Boston, or in New-York, and set up business, on Government account, at any other point we please. If we possess the power to tax the people of the free States to the amount of two hundred thousand dollars, to be expended in payment for slaves, as contemplated by this treaty, we may tax them two hundred *millions* for the same purpose. The question before us is one of *principle*, and not of amount. I have quoted the language of Mr. Clay, a slaveholding Whig, and I desire to see how many of our Whig friends will stand by the doctrine which he has laid down.

But I wish to go a little further into the detail of our constitutional rights in respect to fugitive slaves. And as I notice able constitutional lawyers and statesmen from the South, who are now listening to me, I most respectfully request them to correct any error in regard to the constitutional rights of the slave, or of the master, or of the people of the slave States, or of those of the free States, into which I may fall; for it is an important subject, and one which should be well understood by every statesman.

By the laws of Virginia, and, perhaps, of all the slave States, if a slave run from his master, or from a constable, after being ordered to stop, the master, or his agent, or the constable, may shoot him; or if the master, his agent, or a constable, arrests a fugitive slave, and such slave raises his hand against the person arresting him, such person may at once kill the fugitive in any manner he pleases. This law is in force in Virginia. But when the slave crosses the [illegible] his natural rights, particularly the right of self-defence, of which he was deprived while in Virginia. The laws of our State, then, throw their protection around him. By the Constitution of the United States, the master may pursue and arrest his slave in a free State, and take him back from whence he fled. In doing that, he may use the same force that our officers are permitted to use in arresting criminals; but he must go no farther. If he shoots, or kills the slave, on Ohio soil, we shall hang him, as we would any other murderer. Our people, under the Constitution, and under the law of 1793, are prohibited—first, from protecting the slave against an arrest by the master; secondly, from concealing the slave from the master; and, thirdly, from rescuing the slave after his arrest. If we do either of these acts, we violate our constitutional compact.—Our duties in regard to fugitive slaves are the same as our other obligations towards the institution; they are to let them alone—not to interfere between master and slave. "*Hands off*" is the doctrine of the Constitution, and the motto of every supporter of that instrument. Our duties are entirely *negative*. There is no obligation resting upon us; nor is there any power in Congress to compel us to *act in the matter*.

In regard to arresting slaves, we owe no duties to the master; on the contrary, all our sympathies, our feelings, and our moral duties, beyond what I have stated, are with the slave. We will neither arrest him for the master, nor will we assist the master in making such arrest. I am aware that the third clause of the second section of the first article of the Constitution was once believed, by some, to impose upon the people of the free States the duty of arresting fugitive slaves. But it is now judicially settled that no such obligation rests upon us. Indeed, a proposition to impose upon us such a duty, at the time of framing the Constitution, was rejected, without a division, by the Convention. We, therefore, leave the master to arrest the slave if he can; and we leave the slave to defend himself against the master if he can. We do not interfere between them. The slave possesses as perfect a right to defend his person and his liberty against the master, as any citizen of our State. Our laws protect him against every other person, except the master or his agent, but they leave him to protect himself against them. If he, while defending himself, slays the master, our laws do not interfere to punish him in any way, further than they would any other person who should slay a man in actual self-defence. The laws of the slave State cannot reach him, nor is there any law, of God or man, that condemns him. On the contrary, our reason, our judgment, our humanity, approves the act; and we admire the courage and firmness with which he defends the "inalienable rights with which the God of nature has endowed him." We regard him as a hero worthy of imitation; and we place his name in the same category with that of Madison Washington, who, on board the Creole, boldly maintained his God-given rights against those inhuman pirates who were carrying him and his fellow-servants to a worse than savage slave-market. Yet the bill before us is intended to compel us to pay the money of our constituents to those who, in defiance of the laws of eternal justice, have seized the panting fugitive, and doomed him to a life of servitude.

Had our Government entered into a treaty with those Indians, and agreed to pay them two hundred thousand dollars for assisting the slaves of Georgia to escape from bondage, we should, all of us, have pronounced such a treaty unconstitutional, and I do not believe that a member of this body would have voted to appropriate a single dollar in pursuance of it. Yet the unconstitutionality of such a treaty would have been no more palpable than is that of the treaty before us. It is a perfectly clear proposition, that if the Government have power to restore slaves, they have the same power to entice them away; and if they have power to pay out the money of the people for the one purpose, they have equal power to pay it out for the other. But I was examining the rights of our people in regard to fugitive slaves. When a slave enters our State we regard him as a person, and not as property. Under our laws he may sue or be sued—he may be rewarded for his virtuous deeds, and be punished for his crimes. Indeed, he enjoys all the rights which others possess, except that he is liable to be seized by his master and carried back into Slavery. We may feed, clothe and lodge him, knowing him to be a slave. We may teach him his rights, show him the road to Canada, and furnish him with the means to get there. We may furnish him with the means of defending himself, in the same manner that we may furnish others with weapons. In short, we treat him in all respects as we do other persons, except defending him against his master, or secreting him. I repeat, that I am most happy in seeing able lawyers and statesmen from the South, now before me. They must feel a deep interest on the subject, and if they deny any position which I have laid down, I call upon them to correct me. This is the place where these grave matters should be discussed.* Let it be done before the House, and before the country. Let truth be sent forth to the people of the nation, and let them be correctly informed on a matter so vital to both sections of the Union. I certainly can have no object in the maintenance of error, and hope I may be set right, if any slaveholding member shall believe me wrong on these points. I make these remarks in order that they may go forth to assist our people in forming correct opinions of their rights on this subject, so important to humanity. The moral feelings of our people are correct. Were they not restrained by the Constitution, they would be as anxious to hang the man who catches a slave in our free States, as they would to hang him who goes to Africa and commits the same crime. They believe the turpitude of seizing a slave in Ohio, and taking him back to interminable bondage, to be as great as it is to seize the same man in Africa and bring him into Slavery. [Mr. McDowell, of Ohio, inquired of Mr. Giddings, if he, as a lawyer, had not counselled masters in regard to obtaining their fugitive slaves.] Mr. Giddings:—Never: no, *never*. Why, Sir, you cannot induce a slave-catcher to come into that civilized and Christian portion of the State where I reside. You might as easily induce a Hottentot to enter a church.

Whilst these are the rights secured to us under the Constitution, we have annually, for the last twenty years, made appropriations from the public treasury to pay for the capture of fugitive slaves; and representatives from the free States regularly vote for them without objection. Holding the clear and indisputable right of being exempt from the expense of Slavery, the people of the free States, within the last ten years have probably paid more than thirty millions of dollars for its support.

Proclaiming to the world, that we are the true lovers of freedom, we lend our political and moral influence to hold three millions of "Native Americans" in the most degrading slavery. Calling ourselves a Christian people, we deny to one-sixth part of our population the word of eternal life; and subject them to the unbridled lust and passions of barbarous masters and overseers, by whom they are often compelled to submit to the most brutal indignities, and even to death itself. Yet but few of our members stand forth to expose and denounce those heaven-daring iniquities. We sit here with folded arms, apparently indifferent to the outrages committed by Government, and are ourselves often made the unresisting instruments of our own dishonor. Thus, in the case before us, a slave-dealing President having negotiated this treaty, and the Senate having approved it, we are called on to appropriate the money of our people to perfect this insult to Northern honor; and gentlemen, representing Northern freemen, will vote for this final ratification of the outrage. We have lately seen the Union, formed by our fathers, give place to a new and unnatural confederacy, based upon the policy of perpetual Slavery—degrading our constituents to the level of Texan slaves; and we, the descendants of the pilgrim fathers, ingloriously submit to the insult. Where is the spirit exhibited by our illustrious ancestors? They would not submit to a comparatively nominal tax upon tea—we, their descendants, vote to tax ourselves and constituents, for the purpose of seizing the panting fugitive as he flies from oppression, and dragging him back to interminable bondage. The causes of complaint which brought about the Revolution bore no proportion to the outrages heaped upon the free during the last twelve months. Our fathers did not hesitate to appeal to the God of battles against such insults; we hesitate, falter, and quietly submit to every indignity. We seem to have forgotten their devotion to the cause of freedom. Their illustrious examples are lost upon us. The memory of the mighty dead calls forth no spirit of emulation from us.

This treaty, arranging an old slave-dealing transaction at the expense of our people, is now urged as the basis of this appropriation. Gentlemen are called to act under the treaty without having seen it, and without knowing its contents, except as they have been developed during this discussion. We must comply with this extraordinary demand of the Executive, and make the appropriation, or we must reject it. Our votes will be entered upon the record, and pass down to posterity as evidence of the sentiments which guide us. The eyes of the people of the free States are upon us, and I rejoice that they are now watching our movements with an intensity never before witnessed. Our votes on this, and on all other questions touching Slavery, will go, for examination, before those who sent us here. They expect each of us to define his position clearly on this subject. They desire to see how and where we stand on these questions of Northern rights. Our constituents are beginning to think the name of liberty can be of but little use, if their interests, their moral purity, and their honor, are to be tamely surrendered to slaveholding arrogance. I am aware that some of our Whig friends think if we take clear and distinct ground in favor of our constitutional rights, we shall thereby drive our Southern friends from us. If that be so, we had surely better separate from them, than to surrender up the Constitution, and our own rights under it. We cannot afford to purchase their co-operation at so high a price. If our Southern friends cannot meet us upon the line of the Constitution, we cannot act with them. God forbid that we should surrender Northern rights, and Northern honor, to purchase Southern votes.

But I entertain too high an opinion of our Southern friends to believe they will desert us and the Constitution, because we refuse to surrender our rights to the slave-power. Mr. Clay was a slaveholder in 1844, when he declared, that "*Congress possessed no powers in relation to domestic slavery.*" If our Southern Whigs will stand by this doctrine, we can act together. We ask them to go no further. Let us refuse to exert our power either to uphold or abolish Slavery. In short, Sir, let us refuse to exert a power which we do not possess. This is the doctrine on which the glorious triumph in Ohio was principally based in 1844; and the still more glorious triumph of 1845. It was on this doctrine that the Whigs of my district put forth such efforts in that campaign, as to win from the fair ladies of Kentucky a gorgeous banner, as a token of their approval.† Sir, this proud distinction was not conferred upon us in consequence of having servilely submitted to slaveholding dictation. No, Sir; distinguished as the strongest Whig district in the United States‡ and entirely dissenting from those who have felt it their duty to organize a separate political anti-slavery party, the people of my district have long watched, with unceasing vigilance, every attempt to involve them in the crimes of the South. We shall continue to resist every effort of the kind, notwithstanding the cant of hypocrites, the whining of doughfaces, and the supercilious denunciations of slaveholders. The arrogant complaints about "agitating this question," to which we have so often listened in this Hall, are now understood. And I say to Southern gentlemen, *cease to urge us to become partakers in your guilt*, and we will cease to agitate the question of Slavery. Cease your attempts to violate our rights, and we shall, of course, cease to resist such attempts. The agitation is with you; for I will take this occasion to declare, that during the nine years which I have held a seat in this Hall, I have never called up this subject, except in defending the rights of my people. The war which I have waged has been entirely a *defensive* war.

* No member denied any of those positions, although many able lawyers from the slave States were attending Mr. Giddings's remarks.

† The ladies of Lexington, Kentucky, presented to the Whigs of Ashtabula county, Ohio, in which Mr. G. resides, a beautiful banner, in consideration of the majority which the Whigs of that county gave at the State election of 1844; it being nearly *double* the aggregate Whig majority of the State.

‡ The majority in Mr. Giddings's district in 1840, for the Whig tic

But, to return to the issue of supporting the constitutional rights of all the States, and *resisting every attempt to involve the people of the free States in the support of Slavery* This is now, and must be, the great and principal political issue in the free States. The time for preventing it has gone by forever. It is useless for servile editors and trembling politicians to complain. There is a feeling aroused on this subject among the freemen of the North, which cannot longer be stifled. It is daily spreading, and deepening, and extending, and must inevitably overwhelm those who shall attempt to stop its progress. The descendants of the Pilgrims will not much longer remain subservient to the slave-power. If we shall hereafter be found faltering and timid in our support of Northern rights, I do not hesitate to say that the day of our overthrow will then be near. The sturdy yeomanry of the North will not much longer suffer themselves to be made the instruments for supporting a commerce in the bodies of women, and for bartering in children. They will soon refuse to unite with Southern slaveholders in plundering cradles, and in tearing children from their trundle beds, to supply the slave markets of the South. They will demand exemption from such unutterable disgrace—such ignominious guilt. I may be permitted to say that *such is the Whig doctrine*, or I have studied Whig principles to little purpose. Our people regard no man as a Whig who lacks the moral or political firmness to maintain the Constitution, and the rights which the free States hold under it. We are all aware that a most exciting canvass is now going on in New Hampshire. The people of that State are arousing to the conflict. This question of subserviency to the slave-power has called into action the political energies of her people. Suppression of the right of petition, and of debate in this hall—the support of the Slave-Trade in this District, and on our Southern coast—the Florida war, and the Texas outrage—have led the electors of that State to believe that they have reached the point where forbearance ceases to be a virtue. They are now arraying the past sins of their public servants on this subject before the electors, and appear determined to hold their representatives hereafter to a strict account on this point. This state of things has been precipitated upon the people by attempts of the late dominant party of that State to ostracise a member of the last Congress, for the reason that he possessed sufficient honesty and independence to oppose the greatest outrage ever inflicted upon the freemen of the North. This servility to Southern dictation is well calculated to call forth the indignant feelings of every elector who has regard for the honor of his State, the rights of her people, or the Constitution of our country. May God send them a safe deliverance from all "serviles" and "doughfaces." There is also a vacancy in the delegation from Massachusetts. Why is not the old Bay State fully represented on this floor? It is because the former member of the vacant district voted to admit Texan slaveholders to this Hall, to enact laws to control the liberty-loving descendants of the Pilgrim fathers. He, Sir, was willing to involve them in the support of an institution which they execrate and abhor; and they now discard him who thus sacrificed their interests and their honor. I will put another solemn question to the Democrats now present. Where are the four Representatives from Connecticut, who, in the last Congress, declared by their votes that the owner of five slaves in Texas was worthy to exert the same political power in this nation as five of the free, intelligent electors of that patriotic State? I say, where are they? And echo answers, where? Sir, the voice of a patriotic people has pronounced them unworthy to represent free principles; and they have cut them off, and sent other servants here, who, I trust, will prove more worthy of that ancient State.

If we look at New-York, we shall find that this subject is occupying the attention of her people also. One of the leading parties of that State has taken its position in favor of oppression, of Texas, and of perpetual Slavery. The other has espoused the cause of the Constitution—of those "self-evident truths" on which our Government is founded, and which declare the equality of man's political rights. It is true, that some of our friends appear to hesitate, and tremble in view of the progress of free principles. But if truth be omnipotent, we cannot doubt the result. I desire, also, to say a word in regard to my own State. This question of the maintenance of our right to be exempt from the crimes and the disgrace of Slavery, as I have already remarked, greatly contributed to our triumphs in 1844 and 1845. Texas and perpetual Slavery have, thus far, proved a millstone around the necks of our opponents. The parties are again in the field, preparing for the conflict. Their language, goes against these principles "*flat-footed*"—one who, in 1844, went, and still goes, for Texas and eternal Slavery.

[Mr. Sawyer, of Ohio, desired to ask his colleague [Mr. Giddings] when the Democratic candidate for Governor made the declaration imputed to him.]

Mr. Giddings replied: In 1838, while a member of the Senate of Ohio. He then reported the famous bill, which made our people generally the catchpoles for Southern slaveholders. It was reported under the dictation of a slaveholding embassy from a sister State. I have long known Mr. Tod, and I know he is regarded as arrant a doughface as ever trembled before the frowns of a slaveholder. On the other hand, the Whigs have selected a man with whom I have not the honor of a personal acquaintance, but who, I am informed, draws the constitutional line of demarkation between our people of the free States and Slavery with such accuracy, and places it in such palpable light before his hearers, that all can see and understand it.—Taking his position upon this line, he says to the "peculiar institutions," "Thus far shalt thou come, and here shalt thy proud waves be stayed." I am told that he will never surrender our rights to the supercilious arrogance of the South, nor to the trembling paltroonery of the North. The day of trial, too, for those of my colleagues who shall be candidates for re-election will come at the same time of our gubernatorial election. I am desirous that the vote on this bill shall show to the people of our State which of us are willing to tax them for the purpose of catching fugitive slaves, and which of us oppose such insult to the freemen of our State.

(Mr. Sawyer, of Ohio, desired to say, that if he were acquainted with the facts which his colleague, Mr. Giddings, had stated, he would not vote for the bill, but as Mr. Giddings had not exhibited the documents, he should feel bound to vote for the appropriations.)

Mr. Giddings resumed. Mr. Chairman, I feel mortified and humbled. A Representative from my own gallant State rises in this Hall, and declares himself ready to vote for this appropriation, not because *he knows it to be proper*, but because *he don't know whether it be right or wrong*. Not because he is acquainted with the facts, but because he is ignorant of them. Sir, I had supposed that statesmen acted from knowledge, and not from the want of it.

(Mr. McDowell, of Ohio, said that he had looked at the treaty, and that it did not mention *slaves*, but spoke of *property*. That he therefore had no evidence before him that the term *property* meant *slaves!*

Mr. Giddings resumed. It was the duty of my colleague to understand these facts before he came to this Hall. If he will look at the documents to which I have referred, he will find, that in them the term *slaves* is used instead of property. I am allowed but an hour to speak, and it will require several hours to read the documents, without speaking. It would, therefore, have been useless for me to bring documents to this Hall. But my colleague was bound to understand them, and his ignorance can be no legitimate excuse for involving his constituents in the expense and disgrace of paying for fugitive slaves. In Indiana, I am told that two members of the last Congress, who were candidates for re-election, were defeated, because their constituents thought they had not met Southern aggressions with sufficient promptitude.

(Mr. Cathcart said he was successor of one of the gentlemen alluded to, and that his opponent was not defeated on account of his yielding to the demands of the South, but because he had acted upon the principles laid down by the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Giddings.)

Mr. Giddings resumed. I may have been misinformed; but if the people of the gentleman's district desire to pay their money to catch Southern negroes; if they wish to share in the crime of slave-trading, I will not now dispute their right to do so. Let them speak their sentiments; if they prefer Slavery to Liberty, let us know it. But I referred to this fact merely as an evidence to show that this question was entering into the elections in nearly all of the free States; and, judging of the future by the past, the day is not far distant when it will control the elections of the nation. I prophesy that it will decide the Presidential election of 1848, and that a majority of the members of this House, in the Thirty-First Congress, will be elected with reference to this subject. The Texas iniquity is just beginning to be realized. As the people shall hereafter witness the effects of that outrage, their indignation will increase, until all who have aided in this unpardonable political sin shall be hurled from the high places of the nation. (Mr. Giddings here took his seat.)

Mr. McKay, of North Carolina, answered Mr. Giddings, and contended—

1st. That, as the treaty had stipulated for the payment of the money, it was the duty of Congress to appropriate it.

2d. That, as the Indians were regarded as the wards of the Government, and were poor and ignorant, they ought to have the money, as it was to be expended for the purposes of education.

To which Mr. Giddings replied: That the gentleman from North Carolina had denied no fact, nor had he disputed any constitutional doctrine which had been advanced. All that I have advocated (said Mr. G.) seems to be admitted. But the gentleman says we ought to make the appropriation, because the President and Senate have agreed, by the treaty, that we should do it. Sir, were we sent here to carry out the Executive will? I trust not. We are each sworn to support the Constitution; and if we violate our oaths, it will constitute but a poor excuse for us to say, that the President and Senate desired us to do it. We are not machines, to be moved at the Executive will. We do not march, and countermarch, and face to the right, and to the left, and to the right-about, at the Executive word of command. The appropriation of moneys is peculiarly within our province, and in doing it we should act as independent as the Executive, or the Senate, do in their stations. Suppose the Executive and Senate should make a treaty with Spain, or some other power, that the people of Ohio should be delivered up to them as slaves—would we be bound by such a treaty? We should be as solemnly bound by it as we are by the treaty which takes our money to buy slaves.

But the gentleman lays great stress upon the fact that the Indians are poor, and ignorant, and barbarous. I admit that they are ignorant, and barbarous. But ignorant and barbarous as they are, if they are so destitute of decency and humanity as to undertake to catch and return fugitive slaves, I would hang them instead of paying them money. They ought surely, by this time, to have been so far Christianized as not to commit such barbarous deeds

(Mr. Houston, of Alabama, objected to Mr. Giddings speaking any further, as he had already spoken once on the bill; and the Chairman, Mr. Bowlin, of Missouri, decided that Mr. G. could not proceed.)

From the True American.

MORAL BRAVERY.

We remember the story of a cruel master who, without cause, had determined to sever a slave mother, and her only child. She had been faithful under the very worst usage, and she determined to remain so, until he told her, that on the morrow, her child must be borne to New Orleans to be sold there in the slave mart. It was mid-winter. The earth was frosted with a hard crust, yet, at midnight, she started for the Ohio, determined if she could, to live and die with her child. She reached its banks as the pursuers rose on the hill beyond—no boat was near—masses of rotten ice were sluggishly drifting along—death was ahead. Trusting to heaven, she put her feet on the treacherous element, and with it bending and breaking beneath her, (spectators on either side, expecting to see her and her child sink at every moment,) she boldly pushed on from cake to cake, until she landed safe on the Ohio shore.—Five minutes sooner, and she must have perished. Two minutes later and she would have met with a watery grave, for before she had proceeded twenty steps, the ice behind her, close on the Kentucky side, had broken and was scattered ere she reached the mid-river. "Thank God, you, and your child are safe," exclaimed the hard-hearted master, as he saw her land, rejoiced that he had escaped the responsibility of their death. "Brave woman," said a Kentuckian who had witnessed her escape, and met her at the landing, "you have won your freedom, and shall have it. The mother and the child were kept together, and liberty is now their lot in their humble, but happy home. Was there not true heroism here, and is not the scene worthy the sweetest song of poetry or the holiest praise of man?

EXTRACT FROM A FAST-DAY SERMON.

The following extract we cut from the [illegible] Samuel May, of Leicester, Massachusetts. Is there another pulpit in the land—excepting always the Covenanters—from which the truth has been thus fearlessly proclaimed? We would we had more such faithful ministers of the Word, and true-hearted men as Samuel May:

In the Executive proclamation which has called us together this day, there is one recommendation with which, as I briefly remarked to you when the proclamation was read, I cannot in good conscience, with my present views, comply. I feel regret that there should be a single sentiment in that paper, to which I cannot yield the respect which I feel to be due to our present Chief Magistrate. But believing the truth of the principle, that we "ought to obey God rather than men," I cannot ask God "*that He would inspire the people of this great family of States, with a reverence for the common Constitution of this Republic, and with an honest intention to observe its mandates.*" I cannot do this, because I believe the Constitution itself to be at war with God,—in disregard of His truth and righteousness—and I cannot ask Him, for it would be mockery of Him should I do so, for a blessing on that which seeks to contravene His own purposes.

And why should any pray that we may more greatly "reverence the common Constitution of this Republic?" That there are, in that instrument, many just, wise, and wholesome provisions, I very well know. The fact that these are there, on the parchment, has long blinded the nation to the real character and working of that instrument. But who, that has observed the events of the past few years especially, has not learned that these provisions of the Constitution are nothing—utterly without meaning—when they stand in way of the lawless, desperate will of the slaveholding power? The freedom of the press, safety of travelling through the States, the right of use of the national mail, the right of petition, restrictions as to the enlargement of national territory, the freedom of individual citizens of Northern States, the rights of sovereign States—each one and all have fallen before the unhallowed demands of the slave-power. Who knows not the experience of our own State? That her own citizens, going to Southern States, in the peaceable prosecution of their lawful business, have been seized, imprisoned, and sold into Slavery! And when Massachusetts has sought redress, for herself and her citizens, that her claims have been spurned, and herself, in the person of her agent, contemptuously driven away! But there are other provisions of the Constitution which the slave-power will never suffer to be violated. Whatever sustains *Slavery*, and ministers to its growth, to that they demand a most rigid adherence. It is because of the existence of these elements in the Constitution, long known as the *compromises of the Constitution*, that I feel bound to declare it in hostility to God, to righteousness and justice, and to the real, essential welfare of this people.

The Constitution was the work of fallible men; a work undertaken by the greater portion of them, I doubt not, in a sincere love of liberty. But it was *finished* with consenting to some of the greatest wrongs which man can do to his fellow-man, finished by an avowed compromise of liberty with the vilest slavery. The entire power of the nation was pledged to uphold the African Slave-Trade, for at least twenty years; long enough, as the event proved, to bring into the country a number of slaves sufficient to enable us—republicans that we are!—to start a slave-trade of our own.

In the Constitution, the North pledged to the slaveholders that they should have the right to come into her territory, and take their runaway slaves, wherever they could find them; that they might course over her hills, and through her valleys, and search her dwellings, and drag thence the panting, supplicating fugitive back to the stripes, chains, maimings, and living death of Slavery.

In the Constitution, the North obligated herself to employ her physical force to put down slave insurrections, and to march in military array against those slaves who, longing for freedom, should rise, as did the revolutionary fathers, to throw off a despotic and galling yoke,—nay, to throw off a bondage, "one hour of which," in the language of Jefferson, himself a slaveholder, "is fraught with more misery than ages of that which our fathers rose to resist."

In the Constitution, too, the North consented that the South should have a right of representation in Congress for its slave-property,—not a representation of the slaves, for could they elect their own representatives, a totally different state of things would have resulted,—but a representation *on account of* their human property. By means of this provision, which has ever secured to the slaveholding interest a great number of votes in the halls of national legislation, and which at the present time gives it some twenty-five votes more than it would otherwise be entitled to, that interest has ruled the nation, putting up and putting down whom it would.

The Constitution, we know, was finally assented to, with great reluctance and many misgivings, by many of the early patriots in the Convention. They *hoped* a growing spirit of liberty would root out the curse of Slavery. Alas! the result has proved (as it always must, in attempts to blend light and darkness) that the evil admixture has corrupted the whole mass; it has showed perfectly, that if the demon Slavery be allowed only room enough to insert so much as his hand, he will soon work in his entire loathesome body.

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Communications.

Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society.

At a meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, held the afternoon of April 8th, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That in view of the importance of lecturing agencies, in the promulgation of our principles, and of the obligation resting on all who would promote our cause effectually, to sustain such of its friends as are ready to devote themselves to its public advocacy; and especially in view of the ability and fidelity of the agents of the cause, already in the field, on the faith of pledges made to sustain them, this Society warmly seconds the undertaking of the Managers of the Rural Fair, to raise $500 for the agency fund of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and recommend to all its auxiliaries, members, and friends, to concentrate their energies to that point at Dedham, on the 4th of July next.

The following letter from Belfast, Ireland, was also read to the meeting:

TO THE SECRETARY OF THE BOSTON LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

DEAR FRIEND:—The information communicated during the late visit of Frederick Douglass to Belfast, has aroused many ladies within our precincts to deep feeling on behalf of the suffering victims of Slavery in the United States;—and this feeling has brought with it a sense of responsibility as to the use of all available influence towards putting down that flagrant sin against God and against man. Those sentiments and considerations have led to the formation of the Belfast Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association; on behalf of which I now address thee.

As we are personally far removed from the scene of action, our first step is to open a correspondence with our American sisters, in the hope that the expression of cordial sympathy with those who have to bear "the burden and heat of day," may tend still further to stimulate and to cheer them in their arduous conflict with public sentiment and public iniquity.

Some of us have but recently been awakened to a full consciousness of the enormities of that Slavery, which continues, in your Southern States, to be perpetrated by many who presume to call themselves Christians. In proportion to the clearness with which we have been enabled to look into the state of society produced by this iniquitous system, has been our amazement that men who profess to be the followers of Christ, can put themselves forward in any degree as its supporters or its apologists.

The history of the past, as well as the experience of the present day in the world at large, teach us that the *oppressor* soon comes to despise the individual, or the class of individuals, whom his *oppression* has degraded; and that he usually vilifies and contemns the victims instead of bringing the responsibility home to himself, as the author or sustainer of their degradation. For this state of feeling exhibited towards colored Americans in a large section of your country, we are therefore fully prepared. But that a community which has repudiated Slavery, as in your Northern States,—or that any intelligent minds, unpolluted by immediate contact with the system, do not plainly see the injustice and the cruelty of cherishing that offspring of Slavery—*prejudice against color*—grieves and astonishes us.

In the noble stand you have made for the *rights*, and in the exposition of the *wrongs* of our colored brethren and sisters, we desire to express our heart-felt sympathy. Our wish is to uphold your hands in this righteous cause, and we have, therefore, to request information as to the mode in which we can best sustain your efforts. We contemplate contributing to your Bazaar, and would be [illegible] what articles of taste and of ladies' work

In order to keep alive the feeling of interest, at present excited, we will thank you to furnish us, from time to time, with such notices of your proceedings as are likely to conduce to this object. And at the same time be so kind as to mention those of your Anti-Slavery pamphlets, or books best calculated to impart correct ideas of the slave-system and its operations.

With kind regards, thy friend,

MARIA WEBB,

Corresponding Secretary to the Belfast Ladies' Anti Slavery Association.

Letter from S. Swain.

BRISTOL, BUCKS COUNTY, Pa.
4th mo. 6th, 1846.

FRIEND GAY:—Strange as it may seem, the Abolitionists have had a *protracted meeting* here. We kept it up for three evenings following each other, after having them prefaced by a lecture on the "brotherhood of man." C. C. Burleigh was the speaker, and, as you may imagine, did wide justice to the subjects he treated upon, as he cannot help doing if he would. The audiences though not as large as they should have been, were very attentive, and increased to the last. Many of those who heard for the first time, the true exposition of our faith, were softened into a love and admiration for its simple beauty. *All* seemed pleased and edified, and to forget their prejudices for a while, in the lucid reasoning and sublime declamation of the speaker. On the whole these meetings cannot but be beneficial to the advancement of the cause. The truth that was spoken must be echoed back, even though it be in fragmentary portions, from those who listened to it. They cannot stifle it. It will rise up as often as it crushed. They came to hear her words, and she straightway took to their hearts. As Lowell hath said:

> The Truth will never let the heart alone
> That once hath sought her, sending o'er and o'er
> Her sweet and unreproachful messengers
> To lure us back.

And where think you these lectures were delivered? Not in the church dedicated to the love of God and *consecrated* to the hatred of man; the tasseled pulpits of Heaven's messengers were too holy for the feet of humanity, and the doors were closed. Not in the gathering place of Friends—sacred to quiet and abstract benevolence.—They were not *clear* in their minds, that inspiration in these days ought to wear as long beard and hair as it used to—that it was not enough that their "Book of Discipline" said they were opposed to Slavery—without letting one of "the world" disturb the slumbering holiness of their temple. Not in the hall of science. Not in the school-house. From all these we were shut out. Religion and science are divorced from humanity. Creed, ceremony, and speculation, are substituted for deeds of charity. Moral independence stoops in the shackles of Mammon, and Christ is suffering on the cross of a time-serving priestcraft. Our meetings were held at the fire-side of the speaker.

Though all this is nothing new; it is what the friends of humanity expect. I write now to say that in my opinion, there is much less life and bitterness in our opposition than there was but a few years back. It seems now more like a habit, a ceremony, to oppose us. We have had not the slightest appearance of popular outbreak, of violence, or disturbance, the past week, where but four years ago friend Burleigh was rudely assailed by a mob. The spirit of persecution seems to be "moaning into silence." Let there be light, says the voice of the people's wants. That is what they need. That will enable them to see how to unbar their church doors, to let in the pleader for the poor. That will waken up the flowers and the fruits of feeling—of sympathy and love, and we will know an anti-slavery Spring—a new birth of freedom, glorious in freshness and beauty.

As much as there has been spoken and written, there is a vast deal of ignorance of our measures and principles among the people. We who have been converted by *degrees* to our faith, forget and neglect to attend to those who are in the alphabet of their knowledge. We do not feed the public sufficiently with plain statements of *Slavery as it is, our connection with it*, and *how we expect to abolish it*. This is what the inquirer wants to know. He cares but little about our local matters, or our more attenuated branches of the Reform, that spring from its cardinal principles. I have often thought that every paper we issue ought to contain a declaration of our sentiments and measures. There are so many tongues and pens at work to misrepresent our motives and objects—there is so much cunning and talent to cast dust in the eyes of the lover of humanity, that we cannot employ too many mirrors of the truth.

Let us "keep it before the people," that Slavery is the rankest abomination that curses the earth—that "our hands are thicker than themselves with brothers' blood," in holding up and sustaining its foul injustice and cruelty—that through the instrumentality

> "Of those mild arms of truth and love
> Made mighty through the living God,"

we expect to vanquish its strength, and consign it to an unhon

questions, to be the view taken by "Veritas," and which Mr. Matlack so cunningly endeavors to keep out of sight.

To-be-sure, if adopted, it would condemn such a union as is proposed by this Convention, and, "for fear of endorsing the character" of slaveholders, and their fellows and abettors. But if Mr. Matlack thinks that such a "fear" will compel him to withdraw "from all associations for the promotion of good," what business has he out of the Methodist Episcopal Church? It was this very "fear," as we understand it, of endorsing Slavery that compelled the Wesleyans to withdraw from that church. If the principle was good then, it is good now. If it is wrong now, Mr. Matlack had better at once advocate a return to their old connection, lest a carrying out of the fundamental principle on which his present church is founded, should compel him to "live a hermit," for a hermit, even for righteousness' sake, it is very plain he is determined neither he nor his church shall be.

Orange Scott himself also undertakes to answer the questions of this "troubler in Israel"—"Veritas,"—and is much more explicit and straight-forward than his brother Matlack. But he is very far from taking such a position as we have a right to expect from the founder of a church which professes to be based on the highest Anti-Slavery principle. To question 4th. "Can any Anti-Slavery church," &c.—he says, emphatically and decidedly,—"I answer, NO." This is excellent, and we commend to his attention the relation of his own church to the Methodist Episcopal, as well as the pro-slavery condition of the Whigs and Democrats among the Wesleyans. And we would ask him, in connection with this question of "Veritas," what it is that constitutes a pro-slavery church, if it is not the character of the members? and whether it is not equally necessary to make a church anti-slavery, that its members should be anti-slavery in their relations to the State, as in their relations to the Church?

To the next question—"If not, what kind of union," &c.—he says:

"Answer; none at all. I am not aware that there will be any slaveholding churches represented in the Convention."

Indeed! Are all the churches in the Northern States, then, Anti-Slavery? or are none of them to be represented in this Convention? What is the character of the churches to be represented by the Rev. Doctors Patton, and Skinner, of this city, both of whom are, we hear, to attend the Convention as delegates? But let us look at his next reply, in connection with the last.

To the question—"If Elder Winans," &c.—he answers:

"If 'Elder Winans,' or any other slaveholder, is a member of that Convention, O. Scott will not be. As for Dr. Bangs, I hope he has repented of some of his former misdeeds."

If Mr. Scott's going to the Convention depends upon the absence of actual slaveholders, the probability is that Mr. Scott will stay at home. We are glad to know that he makes thus much concession to anti-slavery, without yielding to brother Matlack's mortal fear of living "a hermit."

But why not be equally charitable towards Elder Winans, as towards Dr. Bangs? If he is willing to give Christian fellowship to the latter, in the *hope* that "he has repented of *some* of his former misdeeds," why not extend it to the former also, in the same hope? Does Mr. Scott mean to say that he considers Dr. Bangs an Abolitionist? or that the Methodist Episcopal Church, North, has ceased to be a pro-slavery church, because of the *territorial* division between it and the church, South? The cause of division was, that Bishops should not be slaveholders, not that slaveholders are not Christians; and the division, moreover, was made by the South, not by the North. Dr. Bangs, and his associates, are not relieved from the guilt—as it is according to the principles of Evangelical churches—of extending fellowship to slaveholders because of this division, until they refuse to meet in Conference, or to recognize in any way, as Christians, the members of the church, South. If, then withstanding his present pro-slavery position and character, in the *hope* that "he has repented of *some* of his former misdeeds," and does not ask of him "fruits meet for repentance," the fact, that Elder Winans is a slaveholder, should not debar him from the same charity; for he, too, may have repented of his misdeeds, though, like Dr. Bangs, he has given, as yet, no proof in his life of such repentance.

Mr. Scott hopes that there may be in the Convention "an expression against Slavery;" and he intimates that if he is there an "attempt *may* be made"—the italicising is his—"to exclude all slaveholders from Christian fellowship." Perhaps so; but it is not likely if there are many delegates from this country. We think that this will be one of "the points on which they differ," and on which the Convention will think that no "compromise" "ought to be either required or expected." But, as he says, "we shall see."

He adds, in conclusion,—"I am mightily in favor of the Convention." No doubt of it. The pleasures of an evangelical glorification—pardon the term, these convocations of pro-slavery churches deserves no better—are not to be lost for a trifle. The Wesleyan Church seems tired of the day of small things, and inclined to be great in the sight of men, rather than pure in the sight of God. She is weary of being out of the world, and living a hermit.—G.

An Anti-Slavery Missionary.

The remarkable letter, in another column, from D. L. Brayton, is copied from the Christian Reflector, a paper published in Boston; but if it should make many such reflections on the character of American Christians, the editor will soon be compelled to flee from his post, and pitch his tent among infidels, agrarians, and Anti-Slavery men. It contains sufficient food for thought without any suggestions from us, but we think that every reader will be struck with the infatuation of the missionary in striving to convert the Karens to Christianity at such an enormous expenditure of means, when he is convinced that his own countrymen are more in need of his services. We wonder exceedingly at Mr. Brayton's simple question, and hope that some discreet friend will reply to him, "Come home and convert the heathen in your own country first; then, when you go among the Karens, you will be met by no puzzling questions as to the condition of your neighbors." But he has himself put the best reply into the mouths of the Karens to whom he is preaching, and our marvel is, that he does not heed it. We do not remember ever having encountered so pure and unqualified a fanatic.

We had but a faint idea before, of the wickedness of our missionaries. Here are twenty-seven American men and women, educated probably at the expense of public charity, devoting their lives, and twenty thousand dollars per annum, to the instruction of a small tribe of Indians, in the doctrines of Christianity, yet prevented from making proselytes by the fact that they have neglected to convert to Christianity their brethren at home. It is the sublime of fanaticism. Every species of madness that we ever heard of before is pure reason compared with this.

"Brother Kincaid," we have not the pleasure of knowing, but we never knew a more sensible remark to proceed from a madman than that of his about the usefulness of the missionary coming to an end, when the savages find out the character of the people who send him. We cannot conceive of the delusion which sent brother Kincaid and his compeers away from home. But since they have gone among the Malays and Toungthoos, to disseminate American Christianity, and information concerning our "glorious institutions," they are bound, out of regard to their brethren at home, to invite the wild Karens to get up sewing societies and other associations preparatory to sending a missionary from that land of light to preach freedom to our land of darkness and Slavery. "Will not the Karens become acquainted with the history of American Slavery?" asks brother Brayton with prophetic agony. Doubtless they will. And we do not grudge the A. B. C. F. M. the opinion which those savages will entertain of that select few, with the array of initials before their august names. It will not be a very pleasant reflection for these pious gentlemen, that they were the chief instruments in teaching the heathen to despise them.

"Keen were their pangs but keener far to feel,
They mend the pinion that impelled the steel."

B.

Late from Liberia—Slave-Trade.

We have received, by a recent arrival, a file of the Liberia Herald, with dates to late in January. The principal topic of interest is a proposition made in the Governor's Message, and which seems to be exciting considerable interest in the colony, that Liberia be declared a free and independent State. The aggressions of the British upon their shipping—or rather, *ship*—is the principal topic of the Governor's Message, in connection with this plan of declaring their independence. Whether this proposal will be met with favor by the Colonization Society, is a matter of doubt. It is not unlikely that an attempt may be made at annexation to this Government by the Colonizationists, that this foothold upon the African continent may not be lost. We give an extract from Governor Roberts's Message:

At this crisis, we are called upon,—in consequence of the position assumed by Great Britain in regard to the sovereignty of Liberia—to consider the propriety of changing our relations with the American Colonization Society.

That some measures should be adopted, which may possibly relieve us from our present embarrassments, is very clear; but how far it is necessary to change our relations with the Colonization Society, for that purpose, is matter of deep consideration.

I have considered this subject, gentlemen, with all possible attention, and with all the judgment I could possibly exercise on the occasion; and I am sure with all the candor and impartiality which becomes an inquirer after truth; but, I confess, I have not been able to discover any just grounds for the assertion contended for—that Liberia is not a sovereign, independent State. And, in my opinion, it only remains for the Government of Liberia, by a formal act, to announce her independence—that she now is, and always has been, a sovereign independent State; and that documents of this proceeding, duly certified by the Colonization Society, be presented to the British, as well as other Governments, and by that means, obtain from Great Britain and other powers, a just and formal recognition of the Government of Liberia. If this can be effected, it will at once place the sovereignty of Liberia beyond question, and the people of these colonies in a position to negotiate with foreign powers; and, perhaps, as some gentlemen would persuade us, we may be able to obtain means to carry out more effectually the objects of Government, and to develop more speedily and effectually the vast resources of this unexplored country.

Gentlemen, in entering upon this subject the greatest caution should be observed;—let us enter into no measures hastily or unadvisedly;—let every step be well considered; for, however lightly some may be disposed to treat this subject, it is one of vital importance to the future happiness of the people of Liberia. We should remember, with feelings of deep gratitude, the obligations we are under to the Colonization Society; they have made us what we are, and they are still deeply interested in our welfare; and I firmly believe, they will place no obstructions in the way of our future advancement and final success.

The Herald contains an article on "the recaptured Africans" of the Pons. They are well called "recaptured," for they are captives still, and little better than slaves. By what right do the colonists of Liberia bind out these people as apprentices against their will? No doubt such a course is beneficial to the colony, but we maintain, that because these Africans are savages, they are not therefore to be deprived of their natural liberty on the plea of teaching them such arts of civilized life as they have in Liberia, or even blessing them with the immense advantages of Sister Wilkins's school. The Herald says:

We doubt not that some little difficulty will be experienced at the first by those who have them, in making them easy under the disposition made of them; and until quieted and satisfied, they will labor with great reluctance. It should not, however, be inferred from their present conduct that they are constitutionally more lethargic than other natives with whom we have to do. Most of them were free at home, and they are told they (they perceive, much more at home, they think they should be allowed to work how, when, and for whom they please, being free, in Liberia; and not being allowed to do so they become sullen and indifferent. In a word, they are impatient of control. Let them roam at large in the forests—let them select their own place of abode—let them choose their own time to eat, sleep, dance, and work, and a more cheerful, garrulous sent of naked men and women, it will be no easy matter to find. But this must not be—their vagrant propensities must be checked, and restrained within proper bounds, otherwise they will be absorbed by the surrounding population, or become a pest to the colony. The regulations, therefore, which apprentice them to responsible colonists, are salutary to them and beneficial to us.

Here is the slaveholder's plea—the good of the enslaved. This is the reasoning advanced by the Spaniards in relation to the natives of the West India Islands, and those they did'n't kill, in honor of the Twelve Apostles, they worked to death in the gold and silver mines. If the captives of the "Pons" choose "to roam at large in the forests"—to "select their own place of abode"—to "choose their own time to eat, sleep, dance, and work," no other set of men have a right to compel them to do otherwise; and the might that does so is tyranny, and the people are made slaves, no matter whether it be in the empire of South Carolina, or the incipient republic of Liberia.

The Legislature of the Liberians have even passed an act by which this apprenticeship system is regulated by law. In the first section we read:

That recaptured Africans landed here by American cruisers, under the authority of the Government of the United States of North America, or seized and brought into this colony under the operation of the laws of this Commonwealth, may be apprenticed out to colonists under the following regulations: Boys under the age of fourteen years shall be bound until the age of twenty-one years: over fourteen years they shall be bound for the term of seven years: girls under the age of eleven years shall be bound until the age of eighteen years: over eleven years they shall be bound for the term of seven years.

Seven years, then, is the shortest term for which this sort of Slavery can exist, and people of any age, and not merely children, may become subject to it. How far the good of the poor creatures themselves is consulted, we learn from another section of the act, which provides that all recaptured Africans thus apprenticed, who are under *eighteen years of age*, shall be entitled to *one month's* tuition every year! The older ones are not to be taught at all, and we doubt whether the progress of untutored savages would be very great, even under the care of Sister Wilkins, with thirty days schooling *per annum*. It seems, too, that there is such a thing as "*seizing*" and bringing them into the colony under its own laws. Perhaps when the Liberians get short of stock, their bowels yearn with compassion towards the "Heathen round about," to whom they hold out, on the points of a bayonet and a cutlass, the tempting bait of a month's schooling by Sister Wilkins, and the other advantages of the Christian colony at Liberia.

By the second section of the same act we learn what other remuneration, beside the schooling, these lucky Africans get for their seven years' service. The second section is as follows:

Be it further enacted, That every person or persons to whom such recaptured Africans may be bound, shall give to every such male recaptured African, annually, three shirts, three pairs of trousers, one jacket, with one hat or a cap: girls and women shall be suitably and decently clothed. They shall be kindly and humanely treated, and all proper diligence and means shall be required of those to whom they may be bound to instil into them the principles and initiate them into the habits of civilized life.

In some of our Southern States the law provides only two suits of clothes for the slaves, so, that in this respect they are more humane in Liberia. But then, here, the slaveholder is oblized by law to give a peck of corn per week, for food, while in Liberia that is left to the discretion of the master. Perhaps we may strike an even balance between them in these respects. We have some curiosity, however, to know what is the standard of suitable and decent clothing for women and girls in Liberia, for though so particular in regard to men, the women are left to depend upon the individual notions of propriety and decency in the master.

We subjoin an item from the Herald, which is of peculiar interest. It must be felt as a public calamity in Liberia when any vessel is brought in there without a cargo of "recaptured Africans." There was more than met the eye—and that was no little—in the devout thankfulness of the sister, that the captives of the "Pons" were delivered by a bountiful Providence into the maternal care of Sister Wilkins. The increased activity of the United States cruisers on the coast of Africa, whatever may have been the motive of our Government at home, is of no slight advantage to Liberia. It is gross ingratitude, in Gov. Roberts, o talk of independence under such circumstances; he should have asked for Annexation. The Government of the United States then having a direct interest in the colony, will use still greater exertions that such a misfortune as an empty slave-ship shall not often befall them:

"H. B. M. brig Lilly, Captain Newton, captured a barque at Cape Mount a few days ago. Her slaves were all ready, and would have been shipped from Cape Mount in a few days if she had not been taken.

This Capt. Newton is a blunderer. He should have waited till the slaver was full before he captured her. Or if he would take her beforehand, at least he might have carried her somewhere else, and not have mocked the Liberians with an empty dream.

C. T. Torrey.

I have written to you about the case of the Rev. C. T. Torrey. I have the authority of those who know, for saying that that unfortunate man disapproves of the decision of Messrs. A. A. Phelps and C. D. Cleveland, in determining to apply the money subscribed to aid in obtaining his release, to another purpose. There is, moreover, much in his present improved health, to justify the belief that if he were released he would soon be restored to comparatively good, if not his usual health. But I regret to believe that whatever were the prospects of his release before the publication of the letter of Messrs. Phelps and Cleveland, *there is none now.* Without doing justice to those who have, under the laws of Maryland, been wronged, the application for his release would not have been supported here as it was; and now that those to whom was confided the means of doing that justice, have decided that it was better he should die in prison, than that the slaveholders should be paid for the slaves he carried away, the responsibility of all the consequences of his continuing to remain in prison must rest on them. According to *present* appearances, it is not unlikely that Mr. Torrey will live out the full term of his sentence, of which some five years now remain.

We clip the above paragraph from a letter of the Baltimore correspondent of the Boston Atlas. We know not how much truth there may be in it, but it not only disagrees with what has been published from Messrs. Phelps and Cleveland, but also with the certificate of the physician to the prison, respecting the critical state of Mr. Torrey's health. Essentially the same charges of mismanagement, and a denial that Mr. Torrey is seriously ill, are made by the Baltimore correspondent of the New-York Herald; but made in so abusive a manner, that we should have considered them merely the spleen of some enraged slaveholder, were it not for this calmer statement of the writer in the Atlas, who has heretofore shown sympathy for Torrey. If there has been any deception used, if Mr. Torrey, as both these writers assert, disapproves the course pursued by Messrs. Phelps and Cleveland, and if his case has been mismanaged by them, we shall no doubt know it in due season. In the meantime we give these rumors, coming in different ways, as worthy of some notice, and as holding out a hope that Mr. Torrey may yet recover.

MASSACHUSETTS.—The Joint Special Committee, to which was referred an order of the 26th of February, concerning the Annexation of Texas, and the proceedings relating thereto, reported in the Senate, on Tuesday of last week, that a majority were of opinion that no further action is called for. The report was accepted. A minority report, signed by Mr. Wilson, of Natick, was also presented, and both were sent to the other House. So much for Whiggism in Massachusetts.

The petition of Francis Jackson, and others, for the secession of Massachusetts from the Union, on motion of Mr. Page, of New Bedford, was referred to the Judiciary with a fate similar to that of the order.

☞ PAULINA S. WRIGHT, the widow of our late friend, Francis Wright, of Utica, is lecturing on Anatomy and Physiology in Baltimore. Her audiences are composed of women only, and are, says the "Visiter," numerously atte ded and well received.

TAKEN AT OUR WORD.—The "Howard District Press," (Md.) borrows half a column of notices of books from our paper, and publishes as editorial of its own. As we gave all Southerners, in consideration of the misfortune of their education, full license to pilfer from us, we do not complain. We have some hope that the "Press" will, by and bye, copy some of our Anti-Slavery matter, as it ventures now to publish a notice of a book of Mrs. Child, to whom the reputation of an Abolitionist still clings.

ELECTION.—The charter election, held on Tuesday, resulted in the choice of the Democratic candidate for Mayor, by about 3,000 majority. The common council are also Democratic.

Recent Publications.

Journal of Researches into the Natural History and Geology of the Countries visited during the voyage of H. M. Ship Beagle round the World, under the command of Captain Fitz Roy. N. N. By Charles Darwin, M. A. F R. S.: 2 Vols. Harper & Brothers, 1846.

The Beagle, a ten gun brig, left England on the 27th of December, 1831, and returned to Falmouth on the 2d of October, 1836, and during this wide interval in the life of man, Mr Darwin made many valuable discoveries in natural history, which will be found agreeably detailed in these neat volumes, together with many just observations and pleasant descriptions of men, mountains, and monsters. Although he pokes into all the rotten logs he meets in pursuit of bugs, worms, and spiders, and treats a worm with more consideration than he would a woman, there is no deficiency of human interest in his journal. If he makes you more intimately acquainted with the habits of the Tucutuco than of the human inhabitants of the country in which that little animal is found, it is probably because the skinning and stuffing of the one, begets a nearer sympathy than the mere outward observation of the other. His observations in the Brazils have the most lively interest for us, perhaps because we are better acquainted with that magnificent territory than with the other countries which he visited, but mainly because of his remarks on the slave system of that beautiful land, which bears so strong a resemblance to the slave system of our own country. The Brazilians, though inhabiting the finest portion of the globe, where the beds of the rivers are formed of precious stones, and the dust of the earth is gold, though the climate is healthier than that of any other land, and the fruits the most delicious of the earth, are fast becoming the most miserable creatures that cumber the earth; and they are so because the curse of the slave is on them. The blackness of Africa overshadows them, and is fast destroying them, as it is a portion of our own territory. But then they have none of the blessed influences of freedom to save them from destruction which our slave States have. They are not linked with countries enjoying the privilege of paid labor, as our slave-cursed people are, like the corpses which the ancients chained to living criminals; and they prove in their physical and moral degradation the inevitable results of domestic Slavery. The Brazilians, in their persons, are fast approximating to apes, and in their habits they are the most unclean of all animals. That it is neither their religion nor their climate which causes their deterioration is very plainly seen in the noble race of men inhabiting the Banda Oriental, and the other States of the Argentine Republic, where Slavery has been abolished.

Mr. Darwin, says: "I thank God I shall never again visit a slave country. To this day, if I hear a distant scream, it recalls with painful vividness my feelings, when, passing a house near Pernambuco, I heard the most painful moans, and could not but suspect that some poor slave was tortured, yet knew that I was as powerless as a child even to remonstrate. Near Rio de Janeiro I lived opposite to an old lady who kept screws to crush the fingers of her female slaves. I have lived in a house where a young mulatto daily and hourly was reviled, beaten, and persecuted enough to break the spirit of the lowest animal. I have seen a little boy, six or seven years old, struck thrice with a horse-whip (before I could interfere) on his naked head, for having handed me a glass of water not quite clean; I have seen a powerful negro afraid to ward off a blow, directed, as he thought, at his face; I was present when a kind-hearted man was on the point of separating forever the men, women, and little children, of a large number of families who had long lived together. I will not even allude to the many heart-sickening atrocities which I authentically heard of; nor would I have mentioned the above revolting details had I not met with many people so blinded by the constitutional gayety of the negro as to speak of Slavery as a tolerable evil."

The Harpers deserve our thanks for publishing in their popular miscellany a book which contains such eloquent denunciations of Slavery in general, and of American Slavery in particular. We trust that it will find its way to every library south of Mason and Dixon's line, which is not hoping over much, for libraries there are few and far between, and readers form but a limited portion of the people.—B.

A Grammar of the Latin Language. By C. G. Zumpt, Ph. D., Professor in the University, and Member of the Royal Academy of Berlin. From the ninth edition of the Original, adapted to the use of English students. By Leonard Schmitz, Ph. D., late of the University of Bonn. Corrected and enlarged. By Charles Anthon, L. L. D. Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages in Columbia College, &c. New-York, Harper & Brothers, 1846.

The fulness of this title leaves nothing to be said of this book (which is too well known to need commendation) but that it is neatly, and even elegantly printed.—B.

The French Cook, a full and literal translation of "La Petite Cuisiniere Habile." Giving full directions for the most celebrated and delicious Potages, Entrees, Entremets, Crêmes, Fritures, Sauces, Pates, Patisserie, Confitures, Gelees, &c. with delicacy and economy. With full directions for preserving fruits, meats, fish, and vegetables.

The very title-page of this book is enough to make the mouth of anybody but a Grahamite water at the array of delicious French dishes which it presents; and even a Grahamite need not turn up his nose at it, for he may gather from it many new hints for the cooking of his favorite esculents. "Gastronomy is one of the sciences, and cooking one of the arts," says the translator in his preface, "in which the French nation has long excelled any other." And as their dishes, like their language, have become almost universal, he thinks the book will be well worth its cost to those who have some curiosity to know what it is they are eating when they sit down to a hotel-dinner. But the most important purpose of the work is "to introduce into families the various, elegant, and economical preparations so plainly described." We recommend it strongly to all those who think that meats and vegetables are the more wholesome and palatable for being well cooked, and who care enough about their food—a rare thing in Americans—to take the trouble to chew their food whether cooked or raw. It is for sale at WM. H. GRAHAM'S cheap publication office, Tribune buildings.—G.

This Week's Paper.

FOURTH PAGE.—*Poetry:* The Slave-Ship; Work.—*Miscellany:* Marie; or, Slavery in the United States; Dickens on Capital Punishment; Anecdote of Edward Hicks; A Boston Shoemaker; A new Female Sect, &c. Extract from Paper—Free Slavery—Answer of a Letter &c. The South and the West—Modern Extract from Express. *Peculiar Institution:* Escape from Slavery. *Selections:* Karens' fear that the Missionaries will Enslave them; Mass Meeting for the Indians; Speech of Mr. Giddings, (concluded.)

SECOND PAGE.—Moral Bravery; Extract from a Fast-Day Sermon; How Stands the Question; Punishment of Slave-Traders; Slavers. *Communications:* Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society; Letter from S. Swain; A Brotherhood of Thieves.

THE RURAL FAIR.
Fourth of July at Dedham.

This effort on behalf of the cause of Freedom in MASSACHUSETTS, will be made at the "TEMPERANCE GROVE," DEDHAM, on the 4th of July.

It is the purpose of the managers to spare no exertion to redeem that day for the *present* service of righteous principle, by making it a holyday on which the whole community may enjoy with them, the pleasure of a true festival of freedom in union with the higher satisfaction of duty fulfilled, by a simultaneous exertion to aid in carrying out the principles of our forefathers.

We have made comfortable arrangements for the exhibition, and sale of a rare and valuable collection of beautiful and useful articles, such as no other opportunity can present; with fruits, flowers, and refreshments of every kind; and propose to provide such accommodations as shall make this rural festival a most happy and inviting one to all the friends from the city and surrounding country.

The Massachusetts Society intend to celebrate the day at the same time and place. Addresses from the most devoted and eloquent friends of the cause, may be expected, with vocal and instrumental music from our musical friends. More particular announcements will be given hereafter.

MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN,
ELIZA LEE FOLLEN,
For the Managers.

Died.

On the evening of the 25th instant, at the residence of his son-in-law, W. W. Wistar, ALEXANDER WILSON, aged about 78 years, formerly merchant of this city.

Our venerable and good "Friend Wilson," known so familiarly, as it seemed, to almost everybody, and sincerely respected by so many, is gone; he has passed from this earth, where, for the last few years, he has reluctantly lingered, to another and better world.

He was one of the kindest and gentlest of human beings. Never have we met with one, at any age, having a warmer or larger heart, or more of the milk of human kindness. Our acquaintance with him, 'tis true, was of comparatively recent date, but others, who have known him for fifty years, bear the same testimony. When we were first introduced to him, he was sunk into the depths of gloom and despondency; he had parted but a short time before, with the beloved companion of his life, and earth seemed to him, robbed of all its charms. The first, and only thing that had the effect of rousing him from his melancholy, was the anti-slavery movement. When the wrongs of the suffering bondmen were presented to his view, the dormant feelings of his benevolent heart were moved, and he forgot his own sorrows. He read, and made himself familiar with the subject, and with what was doing for emancipation; and from that day till the day of his death, he was one of the foremost, and, aged as he was, the most ardent friends of the cause.—Fresh interest in life seemed to be given him, and new vigor to be imparted to his mind and body. He was a subscriber to all the leading anti-slavery papers of the day, and every week did he read them through and through with the keenest appetite. His only regret was that he could do so little for the cause. A hundred times have we heard him lament this, and as often have we heard him exhort those around him, to be up and doing; to lay hold earnestly of the work while they were young, and the opportunity was offered them. Our good friend was a great radical. No doctrine was too ultra for him; no measure too bold. With time-serving doctrines, and half-way measures he had no patience. He was among the first to give in his adhesion to the proposition of "No union with slaveholders," and, amid the strongest opposition that was ever made to it, the most unflinching to maintain his ground. But he is gone. His familiar face and cheering voice, we shall see, and hear no more. He will be missed by many, but by none more than the writer of this article; for he was a constant, and more than daily visiter at the Anti-Slavery office. Feeble as he was, the most inclement weather did not prevent him from calling at least twice every day, to look over the papers, and to inquire—to use his own language—if we had "any word of comfort" for him as to the progress of the cause. But the place which knew him so well, shall know him no more. He filled out faithfully the measure of his days, and, fully ripe, has passed into another, and purer state of existence. May his mantle of kindness and mercy, fall in some good degree upon his friends who survive him, and may we all be partakers in a larger measure of his gentle and benevolent spirit.—*Pennsylvania Freeman.*

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

Later from Europe.

Since our last issue, there have been several arrivals from England. The last is the pilot boat, WILLIAM J. ROMER, which, it seems, was sent out by the Tribune and Sun, of this city, and the Ledger and North American, of Philadelphia. She brings London dates to the 10th ultimo, and Liverpool to the 11th. On the arrival out of the Romer, at Cork, she was ordered, by the Admiral of the Port to haul down the American flag, which the Captain refused to do, with some considerable Yankee bluster. An explanation was afterward sent, saying that it was not supposed so small a vessel could be an American.

There is no news of any great importance, excepting the warlike tone of the British press, consequent upon the reception of the news, that President Polk refuses to submit the Oregon question to arbitration.

The Irish Coercion Bill has been passed in the House of Lords in Committee of the Whole. It is to be in force three years from October next.

There has been another outbreak among the unfortunate Poles, at Cracow. Forty prisoners were taken, and a great many killed, mostly inhabitants of Cracow, and five privates and one officer of the Austrians were killed. The revolution seems to have been, by the latest accounts, unsuccessful.

Late from Mexico.

Intelligence has been received from Mexico of the decision of the Government not to receive the American Minister, Mr. Slidell. This gentleman is probably already on his way home.

A good deal of excitement has been caused by the discussion of the question of a monarchy. An interdict has been laid on the press, in consequence of the publication of an offensive article, proposing the cession of Texas to the United States, copied from an American paper.

It will be seen by the following extract, that the British Minister has declared, that Mexico cannot look to his Government for assistance in case of a war with this country:

We learn, says the National Intelligencer, that the British Ambassador, in Mexico, a few weeks since, wrote to the British naval commander on that station, that he found difficulty in convincing the Mexicans opposed to the United States, that Great Britain would not co-operate with them against us in a war. They affected to believe, and sought to persuade the populace, that Great Britain will aid Mexico. *The British Minister unequivocally stated that such hopes will not be realized, and that Great Britain will remain neutral.* So we are informed.

From Mexico.—The Pensacola Democrat refers to the intelligence received at that port by the Somers, from Very Cruz, with accounts from Mexico as late as the 16th ultimo. It states that Mr. Parrot, an agent of the United States in that country, "has written to Commodore O'Conner to send a ship-of-war for Mr. Slidell, the Plenipotentiary, whom the Mexican Government refuses to receive in that capacity, and who, in consequence, has demanded his passports. Great consternation exists at Vera Cruz; all the national ships in port having been taken up the river by steam, to be placed out of the reach of *Los Hereticos Americanos Del Norte.* The department of Vera Cruz will pronounce against the Government of Paredes, unless the difficulties with the United States be settled at once."

[A Member of Congress has addressed us a note this evening, stating that *he* was satisfied that Santa Anna is, before this time, in Vera Cruz, and either victorious, or that he has suffered the penalty of his boldness; and also, that the Mexico-Texan army will never reach the Rio Grande, and if they do, will not fight our army.]—*Union.*

General Items.

The Kidnapped Man Found.—We learn that the kidnapped man, Jerry Phinney, is now in the Penitentiary at Frankfort, Kentucky. It seems that he is the victim of a conspiracy in that State, Armitage and Forbes being the miserable tools of men on that side of the river. It is stated that the warden of the Penitentiary was in Cincinnati, where he received the victim from the two villains who abducted him. This man's name, we believe, is Craig, who figured somewhat largely in the case of Delia Webster. He is now guilty of kidnapping; he will doubtless be indicted for this crime, and a requisition be made for his surrender, as well as that of Armitage and Forbes. Whatever may be the response to the requisition, if these *gentry* put foot on our soil, they will be arrested, and public sentiment will demand the enforcement against them of the severest penalties of the law.

It is farther stated, that Phinney was permitted by his mistress, in Kentucky, many years ago, to hire himself out, and to reside in Ohio. This fact, of course, made him, according to decisions in this State, and concurrent decisions in free States, a free man.

We learn that information has been transmitted to Gov. Bartley of the discovery of Phinney, and he, it is expected, will use every means in his power to effect his release, and secure the punishment of his kidnappers.—*Cincinnati Herald.*

Horrible Punishment.—A negro boy at the South was convicted lately of manslaughter, and sentenced to receive two hundred and fifty lashes on his bare back, (fifty each day for five successive days,) and to be branded on the right cheek with the letter "M."

Park Benjamin calls New England, "Free Niggerdom." At the same time he is engaged in translating novels from Alexander Dumas, who is nothing but a "free nigger."—*Manchester American.*

NOTICES.

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES.

C. C. Burleigh will lecture in			
West Brookfield,	Thursday,	April	16
Ware,	Saturday,	"	18
Warren,	Tuesday,	"	21
Palmer,	Thursday,	"	23
South Wareham,	Saturday,	"	25
Giles B. Stebbins will lecture in			
Hollston,	Friday,	April	17
Milford,	Saturday,	"	18
Mendon,	Monday,	"	20
Upton,	Wednesday,	"	22
Grafton,	Friday,	"	24
Thomas T. Stone, lately from Maine, Agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, will lecture in			
Waltham,	Monday,	April	20
Lexington,	Wednesday,	"	22
Bedford,	Friday,	"	24
Concord,	Sunday,	"	26
Acton,	Tuesday,	"	28
Groton,	Wednesday,	"	29
Lowell,	Thursday,	"	30

The friends of freedom in all the above mentioned towns, are urged to co-operate with these able and devoted lecturers, by securing to them convenient places for their meetings—giving extended notices—and conveying them from place to place without charge.

LORING MOODY,
General Agent of the Mass. A. S. Society.

NOTICE.

It will be remembered by those interested, that the "Marlborough Conference" adjourned to meet in "People's Hall," Ercildoun, on the 25th of this month, but after consultation with many Friends, it has been deemed advisable to postpone the meeting a week later, to 7th day, the 2d of 5th month, owing to a "protracted meeting which is to be held on the 25th, at Hamorton," Chester county dedicatory of a Free Hall, which is to be opened on that day.

The "Conference" will, therefore, assemble on the 2d of next month, at 10 o'clock, A. M. when, and where, it is hoped, we shall be encouraged with a large gathering of the *free.*

J. FULTON, Jr.

MIDDLESEX, AWAKE!!

The members and friends of the Middlesex County Anti-Slavery Society are requested to meet in Convention, at Lowell, on Thursday, the 30th instant, to continue through the following day. While the Legislature of Massachusetts, and the mass of her people, are dumbly subservient to the demands of the slave-power, it becomes the friends of freedom to stand erect, and by a bold and manly defence of the right, to administer a proper rebuke to those cowardly time-servers; and it is hoped that the present crisis will bring together at Lowell, the largest number of the true-hearted, ever convened in Middlesex county. William Lloyd Garrison, Parker Pillsbury, C. Lenox Remond, William A. White, Thomas T. Stone, and Loring Moody, will be present.

The meeting will commence at 10 A. M.; place notified in the handbills. The friends in Lowell, and others who can co-operate with them, are urged to make all necessary arrangements immediately.

L. MOODY, *Ge'l Ag't Mass. A. S. Soc.*

ANNIVERSARY IN MAY.

The friends of the abolition of Capital Punishment throughout the United States, are earnestly requested to be represented at the meeting of the New-York State Society, to be held in this city on Monday, May the 11th. Among the speakers expected to address this meeting, are Hon. Robert Rantoul, Vice President Dallas, Rev. John Pierpont, Horace Greeley, Rev. E. H. Chapin, Charles C. Burleigh, Rev J. N. Maffit, Parke Godwin, J. L. O'Sullivan, Rev. W. H. Channing, and Prof. Patterson, of Philadelphia.

JOSIAH HOPPER, Sec. W. T. McCOUN, Pres.

☞ Papers friendly, please copy.

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Dear Friends: At the late annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, measures were adopted to sustain a number of able and devoted lecturers in this State, during the present year. One (Parker Pillsbury) is already in the field. Several others will soon enter. It is desirable so to arrange their labors in connection with other anti-slavery agencies, as to accomplish the greatest amount of good. Of these, the quarterly meetings of the county societies may be justly regarded as among the most efficient.

It is now proposed to the friends in the several counties, to hold their quarterly meetings in the following order, as nearly at regular intervals as may be, throughout the year, viz:

Norfolk,	Thursday,	April	2
Plymouth,	Wednesday,	"	15
Middlesex,	Tuesday,	"	28
Essex,	Saturday,	May	9
Middlesex,	"	"	23
Worcester North,	Thursday	June	4
Worcester South,	Wednesday,	"	17
Norfolk,	Tuesday,	"	30
Bristol,	Wednesday,	July	15
Plymouth,	First of August celebration.		
Essex,	Thursday	August	13
Middlesex,	Wednesday,	"	26
Worcester North,	Tuesday,	Sept,	8
Worcester South,	Tuesday,	"	22
Norfolk,	Tuesday,	Oct.	6
Bristol,	Saturday,	"	17
Plymouth,	Thursday,	"	29
Essex,	Wednesday,	Nov.	11
Middlesex,	Tuesday,	"	24
Worcester North,	Saturday,	Dec.	5
Worcester South,	Wednesday,	"	16
Norfolk,	Tuesday,	"	29

The advantages to be derived from such an arrangement are, first, it would enable the General Agent, and one or more of the lecturing agents, to attend all the quarterly meetings in addition to their other labors, thereby giving additional interest as well as efficacy to those meetings. Second, it would break the monotony of a lecturer's life,—and by meeting so frequently with a large number of the tried and faithful friends of the cause, it would serve to cheer and encourage them in the performance of their arduous labors; and their travels, (should this proposal be acceded to,) will be so arranged as to enable them all to attend the county meetings. Third—It would produce greater harmony of action; and, consequently, a better understanding of the movements among the friends in different parts of the State.

The friends are requested to preserve this plan for future reference; and should anything occur to prevent any of the meetings taking place at the time indicated, such alterations can be made as circumstances may require.

Those to whom the Memorial to the Legislature was sent, asking for a dissolution of the Union, are requested to send them in without delay; as the attention of that body will soon be so closely engaged with money-making corporations, that it is to be feared they will have no time to bestow upon the great question of human rights.

Those who have in charge the taking of collections and sub-criptions to the Agency Fund, are also requested to make returns soon, as the Board wish to know on what to rely; so that they need not employ more lecturers than they have the means of sustaining.

Yours, for Freedom,
LORING MOODY,
General Agent of the Mass. A. S. Society.

NEW-YORK WHOLESALE PRICES CURRENT.

CORRECTED WEEKLY FOR THE STANDARD.

ASHES.		**IRON.**	
Pot, first sort 1845.	3.67½ a 3.92½	Pig, Eng. & Sc. ton	40.00 a 42.50
Pearl,	4.25 a 4.31½	do. American	35.00 a 37.00
CANDLES.		Bar do. rolled	90.00 a 92.50
Mould, tallow lb.	9 a 11	do. Russia P, S, I,	100.00 a 102.50
Sperm	26 a

Poetry.

From the London Anti-Slavery Reporter.

THE SLAVE SHIP.

BY BERNARD BARTON.

"But oh what wish can prosper, or what prayer,
For merchants rich in cargoes of despair;
Who drive a loathsome traffic, gauge and span
And try the muscles and the bones of man!"
COWPER.

It is in truth a loathsome trade,
A sordid traffic—to abhor;
Of which one feels asham'd—afraid,
With which our nature is at war;
For which no prayer can soar above,
Unto that God whose name is Love!

And here, depicted to the life,
Its hideous evils we behold;
Scenes with revolting horrors rife,
Acted for cursed love of gold;
So harrowing that they almost seem
The phantasms of a fiendish dream!

Cast on that *negro-chief* thy glance,
Who coolly smokes his hookah there,
With calm and unmoved countenance
Amid that anguish and despair,
Seeming no sympathy to know
With human torture, human wo.

Turn on that *prostrate wretch* thine eye,
His brutal captor strides him o'er,
His age, his wind, his strength to try,
But to enhance his price the more;
And by his life's protracted span
To make his market of the man!

Or look on that *young female slave*,
On whom the ruffian brands *his* name,
The baser grovelling brute, who gave
His dross to buy her slender frame;
For what? Nay, ask not! Wherefore know
The lowest depths of girlhood's wo.

With a yet deeper loathing, turn
To HIM—the demon of the scene,
Who with phlegmatic unconcern
Presides o'er all with callous mien;
Driving with cold unaltered mood,
Bargains in human flesh and blood.

Yet he, too, was *of woman born!*
Nay, *he may* bear the *Christian name!*
But other feelings than thy scorn,
That abject creature still may claim:
Beyond e'en those he holds in thrall,
He is the *vilest slave of all!*

Bond slave of Satan and of sin,
Of sordid passions, low desires;
'Tis his a livelihood to win
By deeds where mercy's self expires,
His victims may have hope on high,
Which his poor gains can never buy.

Pass we the dying and the dead,
Who figure in this hapless throng,
And still the weary eye is led
To coming scenes of cruel wrong;
Bringing more slaves their captor's prize
To swell this Moloch sacrifice.

Great God! and all these things are done,
By creatures for thy glory made,
Like to thyself, for whom thy Son
His spotless life a ransom paid;
For he that matchless offering gave,
Both for the oppressor and the slave.

How long, O righteous Lord! how long
Will thy forbearance yet allow,
Scenes which nor painter's art nor poet's song,
In their atrocity can show;
To brand with infamy's worst shame
The human and the Christian name.

Thou who hast made and fashioned all,
That all might praise and honor Thee,
To these Thy children held in thrall,
A Father still vouchsafe to be:
Be Thou the slave's strong refuge tower,
Sustain him by thine arm of power.

And in thy own appointed time,
Break by thy might's resistless stroke,
The links which craft and force and crime,
Have forg'd to frame their galling yoke;
Like Samson's wythes these links shall be,
When thou shalt speak the words, "BE FREE!"

For them—thine erring children still,
Who thus thy creatures dare oppress;
And by foul wrong and outrage fill,
Their brimming cup of bitterness;
Even from these, though hard of heart,
Let not thy mercies clean depart!

Thou canst the obdurate bosom melt,
Unseal blind eyes, unstop deaf ears,
And give to those who ne'er have felt
For Afric's wrongs—contrition's tears;
Leading them by thy Gospel's ray,
To put the accursed thing away!

But once more turn we, ere we close
The strain, our artist's work to view,
There may be who abhor such woes,
Who own their portraiture is true;
And yet with sickly sympathy
Would veil them from the public eye!

The *Spartan*—when it was *his* aim
His son from *drunkenness* to save;
To brand the vice with added shame,
Made drunk some poor and abject slave,
Whose *degradation* might impress
That crime in *all its odiousness!*

Our artist here, with higher skill,
To cure a wider ill hath striven;
In *misery's depths—a deeper still*
Hath sounded! and a picture given,
Which even "he who runs may read;"
At which the hardest heart might bleed.

It is *revolting* to our sight;
'Tis but the semblance of a scene,
Acted in open day's broad light,
By beings wearing man's proud mien!
Oh! bear in mind this truth sublime,
Those who allow it—share the crime!

For ALL allow it who withhold
Their earnest solemn strong protest,
Against its evils manifold,
Until those evils be redrest!
And upon injured Afric's shore,
A slave-ship shall be seen no more!

WORK,

BY E. B. BASSETT.

What are we set on earth for? say to toil—
Nor seek to leave thy tending of the vines,
For all the heat o' the day, till it declines,
And Death's mild curfew shall from work assoil.
God did anoint thee with his odorous oil,
To wrestle, not to reign; and He assigns
All thy tears over, like pure crystallines,
For younger fellow-workers of the soil
To wear for amulets. So others shall
Take patience, labor, to their heart and hands,
From thy hands, and thy heart, and thy brave cheer,
And God's grace fructify through thee to all.
The least flower with a brimming cup may stand,
And share its dew-drop with another near.

Miscellany.

MARIE;
OR
Slavery in the United States.

BY GUSTAVE DE BEAUMONT.

Author of Travels in Ireland; and, in conjunction with de Tocqueville, of "Penitentiary System of the United States."

(Translated for the Standard.)

CHAPTER XVI.—(IN CONTINUATION.)

Overwhelmed with grief, I pressed to my bosom the head of my dying love. "Pardon thee!" I cried, "angel of goodness and innocence!" and my voice was choked by weeping.

At the instant that the word "pardon" was uttered by me, Marie's countenance was lighted up by an expression of grateful love. She fell back upon her couch as if her wish had been accomplished. I saw her reason and her strength declining with fearful rapidity. It was midnight; her fever redoubled, and she fell into frightful delirium.

At this moment all the fury of the tempest was unchained. The thunder roared in the clouds, a mighty wind shook the forest, the rain fell with a violence against which our feeble dwelling was powerless to protect us.

Oh, my God! thou knowest my anguish during that fatal night, when bare of all succor—abandoned to my misery and my despair—I found myself alone with my adored one,—witness of sufferings which I could not relieve,—of a delirium which disturbed my own reason, alone in the wild forest;—in the dark, tempestuous night, filled with the terrors of earth and of the skies;—alone with the innocent being whose last agony I witnessed, and the avenging God, the voice of whose anger I seemed to hear: the tempest over my head and in my heart;—crushed even to the depths of my soul by the suffering voice of Marie;—stupefied by the ceaseless roll of the thunder, feeling as if the powers of heaven and hell were leagued together against a single man;—I cast myself on my knees, and with clasped hands, before my beloved Marie, and with eyes alternately raised to heaven, or fixed upon her pale and livid face, I prayed fervently.

The lightnings from the depths of the rayless night, illuminated the solemn scene. I was absorbed by voiceless fear, instinctive despair, and religious hope, when Marie's eyes turned once more on me with a lucid expression—the last ray of expiring intelligence.

"My friend," she said, "you are praying for me! I bless you for it! See how fearful is the anger of Heaven! My God! I must, then, have been very guilty!"

To this slight gleam of reason a still more violent crisis succeeded, which entirely deprived her of sense. She uttered incoherently, and interrupted by sighs, words and phrases like these—"accursed race," "inheritance of infamy," "inexorable destiny!" At length she twice repeated my name, and, though in utter delirium, she wept. She never spoke again.

The days of the daughter of Nelson were accomplished. Nature herself, whose great changes sometimes reveal the mysteries of the future, seemed to tell me that the sacrifice was consummated. The storm had announced all the phases of this agony; and now the forest was filled with fearful sounds; the peals of thunder re-echoed unceasingly through the deep solitudes, as if to multiply the terrors of divine wrath; the great pines and the old oaks cracked and fell with a terrible noise, scorched and broken by the lightning, and uprooted by the winds; a thousand dazzling flashes from a murky sky shed over the earth the fearful gleams of a general illumination, while through this fiery atmosphere, the torrents falling from the clouds, poured tumultuously from the hill-tops to the valleys, mingling the devastation of a deluge with the horrors of conflagration.

To all these echoing sounds of thunders and of many waters, silence succeeded—a silence a thousand times more fearful than all the voices of the tempests and of human sorrow; for there still is hope while grief utters its complainings. But now all was still within, as well as around me.

Here Ludovic's voice failed him. For a long time he had done violence to himself to restrain his tears, which now flowed abundantly; and the traveller, who had been deeply moved by the recital, wept with him.

Ludovic continued as follows: I shall not attempt to paint to you the scenes of mourning and desolation which this wilderness beheld, when the hour was come to give to earth the mortal remains of my friend.

You see that cabin at a little distance from the one where I received you. The other day you were about to cross the threshhold, when I stayed your steps. You admired its elegant construction and its graceful proportions, and told me that *there* one might live happily with the beloved. Oh, truly did I also believe in such happiness! That was the abode prepared with so much care; the asylum of Marie; the roof whose shadow was to cover our pure mysterious joy! But heaven has not willed that my designs should be accomplished, and that this abode should contain our felicity; and therefore have I made of it a tomb!

When we bore the cherished remains to this spot I was obliged to pass through the shock of renewed anguish. I drank to the bottom of the cup of bitterness; I saw the earth take slow possession of its prey, and when all was over, it seemed as if my soul sunk into still deeper loneliness. Oh, misery!—a life of passion and of tempests, ending at a sepulchre!—is that, then, the whole lot of man? I cast myself down, with my face to the ground, as if my heart must suffer less in drawing nearer to that grave. I thought how it enclosed a heavenly being who but yesterday had breathed for me alone, and who was to-day on earth no more;—then prostrate in nothingness I adored the Almighty.

Such was the beginning of a worship which since that time I have each day renewed on that spot, consecrated to my sorrow. "Oh, my beloved!" I cried, as I ended that prayer of the tomb, "Thou hast gone but a little while before me into this funereal asylum. I feel, through the void of my desolate heart, that I have no longer a hold on life. I shall soon rejoin ye, cherished souls, from which mine cannot be sundered and live. Marie, angel of my life! without whom there is no more that I can do below, but wander from misery to misery, and thou, George, my dearest friend, the noblest of men, the tenderest of brothers, who, faithful to thy last hour to the duties of a most affecting friendship, hast preceded thy sister to the realms of shade, where ye are now re-united! Ah, weep not my absence, for shortly I shall be restored to you! Inexorable death has separated our bodies, but our souls shall be re-united in ties which can never be broken."

As I spoke I beheld a new impress of sorrow on the face of Nelson. "What means this language?" he cried. "George! My beloved son! Great God! The sacrifice is then complete!"

My grief had led me astray; but I now revealed all to Nelson without regretting the indiscretion of my despair, for the moment was a favorable one to inform the father of the extent of his misfortune. Prayer and sorrow had raised his soul to heaven, and the religious man is always strong. The thought which ascends from earth to the throne of God is like a mighty column, by which the feeblest are sustained.

For an instant the brow of the Presbyterian seemed to bend beneath the stroke, and for the first time I thought his moral power would sink under his misfortunes: but he soon raised his head, and gave to view a tear or two, astonished to have flown from his eyes. Then I gave him the letter of George. I have many times since read it, so that I can recall the exact words.

"My Father," wrote George—"if this letter reaches you it will announce to you that I am no more. Do not give way to grief. I shall have died a death worthy of you and of myself. I will not be cowardly enough to attempt my own life, but it will be sweet to me to fall in conflict with our oppressors. I know, my father, what will be the judgments of men concerning me, even supposing my name to survive in their recollection;—I shall be called by them factious and rebellious. They have outrages enough, my own merely sentence does not touch my soul. I will not contend with them whether my rece be sullied, but I am assured of the purity of my heart. I appear with confidence before God. I rejoice in the fatal resolution which I have taken,—to vanquish my enemies or not to survive our defeat. Alas! I have little hope of success. The black population is devoted to the everlasting contempt of the whites. The hatred between them is irreconcilable. An inner voice tells me that this mutual hatred will end only in the extinction of one of the races; and still a sadder mysterious presentiment indicates to me that the struggle will be fatal to our own. This fatal issue, which I foresee, afflicts me not. I know not the decrees of God, but I know the duties whose grounds lie within me. My conscience teaches me that it is always nobly beautiful to give one's life for the service of a holy cause. Shall I notwithstanding, confess to you, oh, my father, that my heart is full of grief?—of a sadness which comes not from within, neither does it proceed from the dread of afflicting you; for I know your strength of soul, and that you could not long sorrow over the consequences of a devotedness which makes me worthier of your esteem. But my sister! my dear Marie!—how mournful to think that I shall never again behold her! how great her grief, to learn that her brother is no more! Ah, strive to keep doubts alive in her mind as to my fate.—Heaven is my witness in this extremity, that the thought of her is the only one that can agitate my mind. I cannot realize that she will be able to survive in a state of being where I am not. Let me add a word to the generous Frenchman who loves her. Ludovic, my friend! listen to the sacred voice of a man at his last hour. Marie is, of all beings, the most feeling, the purest, the worthiest of love. She loves you tenderly, Ludovic. Ah! I entreat you, never wound her heart. She is not strong. She yields readily to sorrow, and is incredulous of hope. The remembrance of her mother's fate never quits her thoughts. Alas, I nothing doubt that a deep source of anxiety would shorten her life."

This letter added new poignancy to my sorrow, and gave fresh cause for my tears.

(To be continued.)

DICKENS ON CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

To the Editors of the London Daily News:

GENTLEMEN:—In the very remarkable report made to the State Assembly of New-York, in 1841, by a select committee of that body who arrived at the conclusion "that the punishment of death by law, ought to be forthwith and forever abolished" in that part of America, there is the following suggestion:

"... Whether there sleep within the breast of man, certain dark and mysterious sympathies with the thought of that death, and that futurity which await his nature, tending to invest any act expressly forbidden by that penalty, with an unconscious and inexplicable fascination, that attracts his thoughts to it, in spite of their very shuddering dread; and bids his imagination brood over its idea, till out of those dark depths in his own nature, comes gradually forth a monstrous birth of Temptation...."

Strongly impressed by this passage when I first read the report; and believing that it shadowed out a metaphysical truth, which, however wild and appalling in its aspect, was a truth still; I was led to consider the cases of several murderers, both in deed and in intent, with a reference to it; and certainly it gathered very strong and special confirmation in the course of that inquiry. But, as the bearing, here, is on capital punishment in its influences on the commission of crime; and as my present object is to make it the subject of one or two considerations in its other influences on society in general; I, for the present, defer any immediate pursuit of the idea, and merely quote it now, as introducing this lesser and yet great objection to the punishment of death:

That there is, about it, a horrible fascination, which, in the minds—not of evil disposed persons but of good and virtuous and well-conducted people, supersedes the horror legitimately attaching to crime itself, and causes every word and action of a criminal under sentence of death to be the subject of morbid interest and curiosity; which is odious and painful, even to many of those who eagerly gratify it by every means they can compass; but which is, generally speaking, irresistible. The attraction of repulsion being as much a law of our moral nature, as gravitation is in the structure of the visible world, operates in no case (I believe) so powerfully, as in this case of the punishment of death; though it may occasionally diminish in its force through strong reaction.

When the murderers Hocker and Tawell had awakened a vast amount of this depraved excitement, and it had attained to an unusually indecent and frenzied height, one of your cotemporaries, deploring the necessity of ministering to such an appetite, laid the blame upon the caterers of such dainties for the press, while some other newspapers, disputing which of them should bear the greater share of it, divided it variously. Can there be any doubt, on cool reflection, that the whole blame rested on, and was immediately and naturally referable to, the punishment of death?

Round what other punishment does the like interest gather? We read of the trials of persons who have rendered themselves liable to transportation for life, and we read of their sentences, and, in some few notorious instances, of their departure from this country, and arrival beyond sea; but *they* are never followed into their cells, and tracked from day to day, and night to night; *they* are never reproduced in their false letters, flippant conversations, theological disquisitions with visitors, lay and clerical; or served up in their whole biography and adventures—so many live romances with a bloody ending. Their portraits are not rife in the print-shops, nor are their autographs stuck up in the shop-windows, nor are their snuff-boxes handed affably to gentlemen in court, nor do they inquire of other spectators with eye-glasses why they look at them so steadfastly, nor are their breakfasts, dinners, and luncheons, elaborately described, nor are their waxen images in Baker street, (*unless they were in immediate danger, at one time, of the gallows,*) nor are high prices offered for their clothes at Newgate, nor do turnpike trusts grow rich upon the tolls that people, going to see their houses, or the scenes of their offences, pay. They are tried, found guilty, punished; and there an end.

But a criminal under sentence of death, or in great peril of death upon the scaffold, becomes, immediately, the town talk; the great subject; the hero of the time. The demeanor in his latter moments, of Sir Thomas More—one of the wisest and most virtuous of men—was never the theme of more engrossing interest than that of Hocker, Tawell, Greenacre, or Courvoisier. The smallest circumstance in the behaviour of these, or any similar wretches, is noted down and published as a precious fact. And read, too—extensively and generally read—even by hundreds and thousands of people who object to the publication of such details, and are disgusted by them. The horrible fascination surrounding the punishment, and everything connected with it, is too strong for resistance; and when an attempt is made in this or that jail, (as it has been sometimes made of late,) to keep such circumstances from transpiring, by excluding every class of strangers, it is only a formal admission of the existence of this fascination, and of the impossibility of otherwise withstanding it.

Is it contended that the fascination may surround the crime, and not the punishment? Let us consider whether other crimes, which have now no sort of fascination for the general public, had or had not precisely the gross kind of interest which now attaches to murder alone, when they were visited with the same penalty. Was forgery interesting when forgers were hanged? and is it less interesting now, when they are transported for life? Compare the case of Dr. Dodd, or Fauntleroy, or Rev. Peter Fenn, or Montgomery, or Hunton, or any other generally known, with that of the Exchequer-Bill forgery in later times, which, with every attendant circumstance but death, or danger of death, to give it a false attraction, soon dwindled down into a mere item in a Sessions' Calendar. Coining, when the coiner was dragged (as I have seen one) on a hurdle to the place of execution; or burglary, or highway robbery—did these crimes ever wear an aspect of adventure and mystery, and did the perpetrators of them ever become the town talk, when their offences were visited with death? Now, they are mean, degraded, miserable criminals; and nothing more.

That the publication of these Newgate court circulars to which I have alluded, is injurious to society, there can be no doubt. Apart from their inevitable association with revolting details, revived again and again, of bloodshed and murder, (most objectionable as familiarizing people's minds with the contemplation of such horrors,) it is manifest that anything which tends to awaken a false interest in great villains, and to invest their greatest villainies be vicious and bad, and cannot be wholesome reading. But it is neither just nor reasonable to charge their publication on the newspapers, or the gleaners for the newspapers. They are published because they are read and sought for. They are read and sought for, not because society has causelessly entered into a monstrous and unnatural league on this theme, (which it would be absurd to suppose,) but because it is in the secret nature of those of whom society is made up, to have a dark and dreadful interest in the punishment at issue.

Whether public executions produce any good impression on their habitual witnesses, or whether they are calculated to produce any good impression on the class of persons most likely to be attracted to them, is a question, by this time, pretty well decided. I was present, myself, at the execution of Courvoisier. I was, purposely, on the spot, from midnight of the night before, and was a near witness of the whole process of the building of the scaffold, the gathering of the crowd, the gradual swelling of the concourse with the coming-on of day, the hanging of the man, the cutting of the body down, and the removing of it into the prison. From the moment of my arrival, when there were but a few score of boys in the street, and those all young thieves, and all clustered together behind the barrier nearest to the drop—down to the time when I saw the body, with its dangling head, being carried on a wooden bier into the jail—I did not see one token in all the immense crowd; at the windows, in the streets, on the house-tops, anywhere; of any one emotion suitable to the occasion. No sorrow, no salutary terror, no abhorrence, no seriousness; nothing but ribaldry, debauchery, levity, drunkenness, and flaunting vice in fifty other shapes. I should have deemed it impossible that I could have ever felt any large assemblage of my fellow-creatures to be so odious. I hoped, for an instant, that there was some sense of Death and Eternity in the cry of "hats off!" when the miserable wretch appeared; but I found, next moment, that they only raised it as they would at a play—to see the stage the better in the final scene.

Of the effect upon a perfectly different class, I can speak with no less confidence. There were, with me, some gentlemen of education and distinction in imaginative pursuits, who had, as I had, a particular detestation of that murderer; not only for the cruel deed he had done, but for his slow and subtle treachery, and for his wicked defence. And yet, if any one among us could have saved the man, (we said so, afterwards, with one accord,) he would have done it. It was so loathsome, pitiful, and vile a sight, that the law appeared to be as bad as he, or worse; being very much the stronger, and shedding around it a far more dismal contagion.

The last of the influences of this punishment on society, which I shall notice in the present letter, is, that through the prevalent and fast-increasing feeling of repugnance to it, great offenders escape with a very inadequate visitation. Only a few weeks have elapsed since the streets of London presented the obscene spectacle of a woman being brought out to be killed before such a crowd as I have described, and, while her young body was yet hanging in the brutal gaze, of portions of the concourse hurrying away, to be in time to see a man hanged elsewhere, by the same executioner. A barbarous murderer is tried soon afterward, and acquitted on a fiction of his being insane—as any one, cognizant of these two recent executions, might have easily foreseen.

I will not enter upon the question whether juries be justified or not justified in evading their oaths, rather than add to the list of such deeply degrading and demoralizing exhibitions, and sanction the infliction of a punishment which they conscientiously believe, and have so many reasons for believing, to be wrong. It is enough for me that juries do so; and I presume to think that the able writer of a powerful article on Johnstone's trial in The Daily News, does not sufficiently consider that this is no new course in juries, but the natural result and working of a law to which the general feeling is opposed. Mr. Abercrombie, five-and-thirty years ago, stated it in the House of Commons to have become a common practice of jurors, in cases of forgery, to find verdicts "contrary to the clearest and most indisputable evidence of facts;" and cited the case of a woman who was proved to have stolen a ten-pound note, which the jury, with the approbation of the judge, found to be worth only thirty-nine shillings. Sir Samuel Romily, in the same debate, mentioned other cases of the same nature; and they were of frequent and constant occurrence at that time.

Beside—that juries have, within our own time, in another class of cases, arrived at the general practice of returning a verdict tacitly agreed upon beforehand, and of making it applicable to very different sets of facts, we know by the notable instance of suicide. Within a few years, juries frequently found that a man dying by his own hand, was guilty of self-murder. But this verdict subjecting the body to a barbarous mode of burial, from which the better feeling of society revolted, (as it is now revolting from the punishment of death,) it was abrogated by common consent, and precisely the same evasion established as is now, unfortunately, so often resorted to in cases of murder. That it is an evasion, and not a proceeding on a soundly-proved and established principle, that he who destroys his own life must necessarily be mad,—the very exceptions from his usual course in themselves demonstrate.

So it is in case of murder. Juries, like society, are not stricken foolish or motiveless. They have, for the most part, an objection to the punishment of death: and they will, for the most part, assert it by such verdicts. As jurymen, in the forgery case, would probably reconcile their verdict to their consciences, by calling to mind that the intrinsic value of a bank note was almost nothing, so jurymen in cases of murder probably argue that grave doctors have said all men are more or less mad, and therefore they believe the prisoner mad. This is a great wrong to society; but it arises out of the punishment of death.

And the question will always suggest itself in jurors' minds, however earnestly the learned Judge presiding, may discharge his duty—"which is the greater wrong to society? To give this man the benefit of the possibility of his being mad, or to have another public execution, with all its depraving and hardening influences?" Imagining myself a juror, in a case of life and death, and supposing that the evidence had forced me from every other ground of opposition to this punishment in the particular case, as a possibility of irremediable mistake, or otherwise; I would go over it again on this ground; and if I could, by any reasonable special pleading with myself, find him mad rather than hang him—I think I would.

CHARLES DICKENS.

From the Baltimore Visiter.

ANECDOTE OF EDWARD HICKS.

One of the Friends, who was in attendance at their recent Quarterly Meeting, relates an anecdote of Edward Hicks, which we think worthy of being preserved. He is an aged minister of their society, now residing in Bucks county, Pennsylvania. He was possessed of a small farm, which, however, was quite large enough for his ambition, as the following circumstance shows.

One day Friend Hicks understood that his neighbor, who owned the adjoining land, was removing the partition fence, and taking in part of his land. He went to the neighbor, and inquired what he was about. The other answered, he was merely straightening his fence. "But," said Edward, "this land is mine." The hint did not hinder the other from going on with the work. Edward then remarked, that it seemed strange that his neighbor, who was a large landholder, had not land enough, whilst himself, who had but a small farm, could spare a part of that; and withdrew, leaving his neighbor at work removing the fence. Not many weeks however elapsed, before the fence was quietly restored to its former location.

I presume, that a confidence in the promise, that "the meek shall inherit the earth," (that is, just as much as is useful to their happiness,) made it easy for the Friend to submit to his apparent loss. And with regard to the neighbor, subsequent reflection must have convinced him, he had acted unjustly, in coveting a part of his neighbor's possessions, and the terrors of conscience produced the restoration.

It was well for Friend Hicks that he had the spirit of patient forbearance, for if he had gone to law, his little farm might have been swallowed up in contention, thus realizing the truth of the fabled suit between "the Upper and the Lower Mill," the result of which was, that the plaintiff's lawyer got one mill, and the defendant's lawyer the other.

From the Boston Post.

A BOSTON SHOEMAKER.

Our readers have heard something of a worthy man—a shoemaker—who keeps a shop near Court Square. There was joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, more than ninety-and-nine just persons that need no repentance. This man—JOHN AUGUSTUS—has probably done more good in reclaiming drunkards than has ever been accomplished by all the laws that have been enacted since the settlement of Massachusetts. Scarcely a week passes in which we do not hear of some efficient act of kindness that he has performed—some reformation that he has produced—some individual whom he has relieved from suffering, or restored to a forsaken family;—and all this without resort to a process of law, or showing himself off before crowded audiences as a lecturer on intemperance. *His* lectures are of a different character. He sounds no trumpet before him, nor does he advertise in the newspapers, nor solicit the attendance of the public to be witnesses of his performance, at six cents apiece. No self-created committees publish certificates of his virtues; but the records of the police court attest to his practical goodness, and the hearts of those whom he has stopped short in the downhill road to destruction, are the grateful witnesses of his practical eloquence. At the meeting of the Legislative Temperance Society, the principal portion of the following letter from Mr. Augustus was read by the Secretary, who said that the facts stated therein could be proved to the satisfaction of the Legislature, should the subject ever come before it, in regular form:—

BOSTON, February 2, 1846.

DEAR SIR:—It would be gratifying to me, if you would in some way introduce into the meeting of the Legislative Temperance Society the subject of establishing a temporary home for persons discharged from the house of correction, and where they have been confined for being common drunkards; and also for persons of that description who may not have been sentenced to that place. Of those who are discharged from prison many might be saved, if we had a place where we could keep them for a few days, until employment could be found for them. I wish you would give your influence in aiding me in my plan in any way you think best. I sent in a petition to the last Legislature with many respectable signatures, and the subject was referred to the present session. I hope it will be called up, and that the members will think as I do in relation to it, and thoroughly investigate the matter. At present a poor unfortunate woman, of intemperate habits, is taken from her family, and sent to the house of correction, and before she comes out her family is scattered, and she knows not where to find her friends, or perhaps her children. She has nowhere to lay her head, unless she seeks shelter in some den, or some back lane about Ann street. There she gets drunk, and gets sent back to the house of correction perhaps in two or three days; and it is the same with the men. Eight-tenths of all that go to the house of correction are for drunkenness.

As soon as my attention was called to the subject, which was by accident, I thought I would try an experiment, by standing bail for a man who was found guilty of being a common drunkard. I was in court, and stepped up to him and asked if he would sign the pledge if I would get his sentence put off for a fortnight, and stand his bail in order to give him a chance to try to do better. He agreed to do so—kept the pledge, and became a sober man. At the end of the fortnight he was let off, upon payment of a small fine. I continued this practice, and the result is as follows:—From January 1st, 1842, to January 1st, 1846, I bailed three hundred persons brought up as common drunkards, male and female. Of this number more than two hundred have done well. The balance might have been saved if there had been a place for them to stop a few days, to recover from the effects of rum, and wait for employment. I do not know how many of them fell back, because I lost the track of them. I have heard that some are doing well in other places. I have also been bail in cases of simple drunkenness and other petty offences, to the number of one hundred—making in all four hundred instances. The whole sum for which I have been bail is $25,000, and have only suffered one forfeiture, which was for $100. Of the three hundred common drunkards whom I bailed, two hundred and seventy-five were, after signing the pledge, and being under probation a week or two, discharged upon paying a fine of one cent and costs—about $4 in each case—making in all $1,100 paid into the treasury of the county or State. If they had been sent to the house of correction, nothing would have been paid on their account, and the officers would have been paid fees for carrying them over. By my plan money has been both paid saved to the State, unless they make a profit on labor of such convicts in the house of correction—fact which I have not yet learnt. If the Legislature should see fit to give a few thousand, or a few hundred dollars, to aid us in saving the drunkard in our own way, there need not be any fears as to the loss of the money; for, by saving the drunkard, we keep him from being supported at the public expense in prison, and much vexation between towns would be prevented. When a convict in our prison has a settlement in another town, that town is called upon to pay for his keeping. Many members in the House must know this, and can speak for themselves. The success of my personal experiments shows that the drunkard can be saved. The time has therefore come to try it on a more extended scale, by the aid of the State, which is to be benefited as well as the drunkard. Let us, instead of degrading him by disgraceful punishment, build him up, and restore him to his station in society, that he may provide for his family, and particularly his children, who otherwise may become vagabonds, thieves, and curses to the community. I might say much on this head, but I am afraid it might be tiresome to you, as you already understand the whole matter. Use this as you think best; and I hope you will speak out about it, when and where you think it will do most good.

Yours, respectfully,
JOHN AUGUSTUS.

P. S. In respect to the $1,100 paid by me for fines and costs, I do not mean that that amount came from my pocket. Sometimes the friends of the parties raised the amount required when the day came to pay it. In three-fourths of the cases the parties, after getting employment, repaid what I had advanced for them. The balance was made up by myself, and by contributions of those who approved of my course. They filled the greatest part of the gap left by those parties who did not pay, and left me to do the work of looking after the people, &c.

J. A.

THOMAS GILL, Recording Secretary of the Massachusetts Legislative Temperance Society.

A new female sect has just appeared in a part of Ohio, called "The Female Kings," who hold that the order of nature has been reversed—that the time has now arrived when "the last shall be first," consequently that woman is the lord of creation, and man her servant. They sit in judgment upon the *saints*; are endowed with eternal life; are proof to injury; and are under the special care of the Lord—fed, clothed, and preserved by his power. They have succeeded in making a great many converts, and the infatuated creatures have left their families and are wandering about without scrip, and without purse, taking no thought of the morrow, led, as they think, by the Spirit "to follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth."
—*Mirror.*

A CARD.

Union of Smith's Weekly Volume and Anglo-American.

The publishers of the Weekly Volume respectfully announce to their friends and patrons that they have made arrangements to incorporate, so far as the publishing department is concerned, the *Weekly Volume* with the *Anglo-American*, published every Saturday, in New-York, by E. L. Garvin & Co. who will commence next week, at the conclusion of *the fifth quarterly part*, and supply their subscribers regularly. The present editors will continue to contribute original articles, such as have appeared in the Journal of Belles Lettres, to the united periodical, which, under the name of the Anglo-American, will contain more reading matter than the Weekly Volume, of a kind to be universally acceptable. It will, moreover, be of nearly the same form, but of twenty-four pages instead of sixteen, and be charged with newspaper postage only. Those subscribers who have paid for this periodical beyond the 1st of April, will be credited by E. L. Garvin & Co. with the amount so overpaid, whether they now take both periodicals or not; or, at their option, they will be repaid for the unexpired time of their subscriptions by presenting their receipts at our office within thirty days from the present date. This arrangement, it is believed, will be satisfactory to all, at the same time that the union of the two periodicals will be found an advantage to the readers of both.

The publishers of the Anglo-American will furnish those subscribers who intimate their intention of continuing one year after their present term has expired, gratuitously, with either of the superb engravings they have already issued, or the one they will issue the ensuing summer. They are—

Washington, mezzotint—issued.
Sir Walter Scott, line engraving—issued.
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NEW LEBANON SPRINGS WATER-CURE ESTABLISHMENT.

In this place, so long celebrated for the beauty of its scenery, purity of the air, and utility of the water, is now instituted a WATER-CURE INFIRMARY; which, from the above considerations, promises to be of the greatest importance to the afflicted, and to persons wishing to spend a season in the country for the purpose of recruiting the energies of the system, after a time of illness or hard labor. The beauty of the scenery and salubrity of the air, is not often excelled in any country. The water is abundant and of all temperatures, from ice cold to 72 degrees Fahrenheit Ther. The mountain springs have been tested by the celebrated chemists, Dr. Chilton, of New-York, and Professor Avery, of Hamilton College, and pronounced perfectly pure and soft. The various baths, as PLUNGE, SHOWER, DOUCHE, HOSE, FOUNTAIN, EYE & EAR, COLD or WARM, are so constructed, as to be comfortable, inviting, and easy of access by invalids at all times. The rooms are so warmed as to render them perfectly comfortable even in the coldest weather. Persons afflicted with either acute or chronic diseases, have much to induce them to visit this establishment. The water treatment has been particularly successful in the following complaints: Rheumatism, either acute or chronic, Gout, incipient stages of Consumption, Dispepsia or Indigestion, with its train of symptoms, as Headache, Constipation, Liver Complaint, Jaundice, &c. It removes nervous affections, and the various forms of Fever, as Typhus, Billious, and Intermitting. It acts like a charm in all eruptive diseases, as Small-pox, Measles, Scarlet Fever, &c. All scrofulous complaints, and diseases arising from impurities of the blood, tumors, ulcers fever sores, and boils, are more successfully treated by water than by any system of medicine.

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